

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME XXXIV

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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## PREFACE

IN content this is a mixed volume, since it offers texts of the New Testament and manuscripts of both new and already known works of Greek literature as well as a selection of especially interesting documents. The lion's share of the editorial work has been done by Dr. Rea (29 out of the total of 50 items); 12 papyrus manuscripts of Apollonius Rhodius are published by Professor Kingston; the two New Testament manuscripts and 5 of the documents have been prepared by Mr. P. Parsons; and a Thucydides and a documentary application have been studied by Mr. L. Ingrams. Detailed responsibility for individual texts is set out in the Table of Papyri.

The editors are happy to acknowledge much help from others. The pieces of Apollonius Rhodius were identified by Mr. E. Lobel. Valuable suggestions for the understanding of 2687 have been contributed by Miss A. M. Dale and Professor R. P. Winnington-Ingram, and the time and thought given to the elucidation of its difficulties by the latter have been particularly prized. It is hoped that other obligations are given their due at the proper occasion.

The new manuscripts of Apollonius were assembled some eight years ago. Since work on them began, further fragments of this author have been identified (including pieces in the same hand as 2694, see p. 50 n.). No doubt pieces will continue to be found. But the work done by Professor Kingston makes a substantial contribution to the textual problems associated with this author's verses, and it is not desirable to hold up what has already been achieved in the interests of a probably unattainable completeness.

Dr. Rea has added the preparation of the Indexes to the other obligations for which the general editors would like to record their gratitude. They would like also to express their thanks to Messrs. Clark for coping handsomely and accurately with a complicated piece of printing; and to Miss Mary Cosh for typing the texts of the Apollonius Rhodius pieces.

February 1968

E. G. TURNER } JOINT EDITORS  
T. C. SKEAT } GRAECO-ROMAN  
MEMOIRS

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXXIII. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } superfluous letters or signs, double square brackets [ ] a deletion, the signs ` ` an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction, if the context justifies this.

Heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## I TEXTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

2683. NEW TESTAMENT: MATTHEW xxiii 30-4, 35-9

4.6 × 7 cm.

Later second century

This fragment comes from a papyrus codex. Only one of the margins is preserved (the left in *a*, the verso, and the right in *b*, the recto). The writing, delicately executed with a fine pen, belongs to the same style as 1082:  $\epsilon$   $\theta$   $\sigma$  and  $\varsigma$  are generally tall, narrow and angular; hypsilon appears four times as a shaft topped with a sweeping shallow curve (as in P. Ant. 26, an extreme example of the manner). Hands of this type are normally assigned to the later second century A.D.: see 2663, introduction. 2683 therefore belongs among the oldest New Testament texts.

Punctuation is by middle stop and paragraphos. The scribe writes *trema* in expected places, and once a rough breathing. A blank line-end marks the new paragraph, *b* 6, as e.g. in P. Bodmer ii.

In the text as restored below, the lines of *a* have 22-7 letters, the lines of *b* 25-9. Between *a* and *b* about 200 letters are lost, assuming a normal text—perhaps seven or eight lines. The column, therefore, will not have had much more than twenty lines, and quite possibly less: column width, *c.* 7 cm.; column height, *c.* 11 cm. maximum.

The scribe corrects his own error at *b* 10. There are uncorrected itacisms at *b* 4 and 10.

This part of Matthew has not so far been represented on papyrus (Aland, *NTS* 9 (1963), p. 314). 2683 offers only minor novelties: *b* 7  $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\tau\iota\nu\nu$ - in place of  $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$ - or  $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\tau\epsilon\nu\nu$ -, the oldest example of this common variant; *b* 10  $\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\kappa\alpha$  for  $\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma\alpha$ , a simple mistake. For the rest, the papyrus supports no reading which had occurred in only one MS., and no reading known only from the minuscules. It disagrees on four or five points with each of the fourth- and fifth-century codices (it comes closest to the Sinaiticus). It sides with von Soden's *Koine* group on a matter of word order at *a* 2-3, but not at *b* 11-12.

A new division of the text begins at *b* 7, with Matth. xxiii 37. The division does not coincide with the beginning of a  $\kappa\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$  in A, etc., or of a section in B, or with a break in W (Freer Gospels). But it does coincide with



Debrunner-Funk, § 73. The form in *-ω* recurs at Mk. xii 5 as the reading of *σ*<sup>ε</sup>.—I have supplemented a present participle; but naturally aorist (or future) is not excluded.

αποκτιν[υνο]σα τους προ[φ]ητας : τους προφ[η]τας αποκτ. *σ*<sup>\*</sup>.

9 απεστ[α]λμενους : -στελλομενους 348 1279, Irenaeus *int.*

9-10 προς α[υ]την : προς σε D 692; *item* 'ad te' Itala, Vulgate, Syriac (s and hl.), Armenian (3 MSS.), Irenaeus *int.* προς σεαυτον lectionary 184. επ αυτην 71.

α[υ]την : no ink is visible at the line-end after *α*, but the surface is rubbed. Normal rules of syllable division require α[υ]την, not α|την.

10 η]βεληκα : ηβέληκα MSS. The second η has been corrected, perhaps from *ει*.

10-11 επεισυνα[γα]γειν : line 11 is a little long; perhaps, as Dr Smit Sibinga suggests, we should restore -συνα[ξ]αι (cf. Luke xiii 34) or -συνα[γ]ειν.

11 ο]ν τροπον : ωπερ 1473. ορνιξ : ορνις MSS. : see Blass-Debrunner-Funk, § 47. 4 and especially Luke xiii 34 (*σ* D W, etc.).

11-12 ορνιξ [επισυνα]γει : so (with ορνις) *σ* B D (K) L Φ Θ, etc., with Itala, Vulgate, Syriac (s), Coptic (Sa. and Bo.), Georgian<sup>1</sup>. επισυναγει ορνις W C X F Δ Σ Π λ, etc., with Syriac (pesh. and hl.), Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian<sup>2</sup>.

12 τα νοσ[ε]ια αυ]της : τα εαυτης νοσσια 1295; om. (ε)αυτης B 700, Georgian<sup>1</sup>, Irenaeus *int.*, Clement, Origen once. υπο : επι 440 1689.

13 πτερυγας : no space for πτερυγας αυτης (X, etc., many versions, Clement).

14 υμων ερημο]ς : so almost all MSS. and versions; ερημος om. B L, etc. The trace before λε[ ] is much more like *ε* than *ν*.

#### 2684. NEW TESTAMENT : JUDE 4-5, 7-8

10.6 × 2.9 cm.

Third/fourth century

One double<sup>8</sup> leaf from a papyrus codex. The format is extraordinary: each page forms an oblong *c.* 5.3 cm. wide but only 2.9 cm. high. I have found no parallel among the other miniature codices, familiar as these are for Christian texts (C. H. Roberts, *The Codex*, pp. 198-9).

The fold shows clearly. On it are two small holes, *c.* 7 and 9 mm. from the upper edge; these holes might have carried thread for binding. (The corresponding area at the foot of the fold is broken away.) The verso of the papyrus forms the inner surface of the double leaf.

The two leaves together contain *c.* 175 letters. They are not consecutive: the text missing between fol. 1 and fol. 2 (*c.* 330 letters without punctuation) would occupy two more double leaves. Before fol. 1 the Epistle extends to *c.* 375 letters, four or five single leaves. (These calculations are naturally very approximate, given the irregularity of the writing and format.) **2684** is not symmetrically placed within the Epistle: that is, it was not part of a single quire containing the whole of Jude and nothing else. The original codex may have been a single quire including more than one work, or a book of several quires; or the Epistle may have been copied only in part.

The hand is a leisurely half-cursive, which I should assign to the third or earlier fourth century A.D. Lectional signs: only trema and middle stop.

Fol. 1 has three lines to the page, fol. 2 four (with an extra syllable squeezed in at the foot on 2 ↓). The spelling shows normal lapses of itacism: *ει* for *ι* fol. 2. 4 and 7; *ε* for *αι* fol. 1. 6. False *nu*-moveable fol. 2. 7 and 9. Much more remarkable is the confusion of *δ* and *ζ* at fol. 2. 4: this was never a common error, and occurs for the most part in subliterate private letters like **1069**.

All in all **2684** stands some way from normal book-texts: the format is eccentric, the spelling vulgar, the script and lay-out amateurish. Most probably we have to do with an amulet. Miniature Gospels were certainly carried as amulets (Amundsen, *Symb. Osl.* 24 (1945), p. 140); Jude seems an odder choice, though brevity might commend it. Compare perhaps P. Ant. 54 (*pater noster*), another unprofessional booklet; and the other miniatures listed by Amundsen, l.c. pp. 126-7.

It is not surprising, then, that **2684** offers an eccentric text: two unique and three rare readings in four verses, and all of them in disagreement with the earliest witness, P. Bodmer xvii. See fol. 1. 2-3; fol. 1. 6; fol. 2. 2; fol. 2. 3; fol. 2. 9. Neither unique reading seems acceptable, and no problems are solved. But **2684** does throw some light on the early tradition of the text: fol. 2. 9 *δόξαν* (known hitherto only from a few minuscules) corresponds to *maiestatem* of the Vulgate and Clement; fol. 2. 2 *ἐπέχουσαι* (with five minuscules), where the other oldest witnesses disagree; fol. 1. 2-3 *δεσπότην κ(ύριον)* with one minuscule (and perhaps Cyril of Alexandria). It remains for experts to decide whether agreements between **2684** and a few minuscules are stemmatically significant or merely coincidental.

Collation based on the apparatus of von Soden (adding P. Bodmer xvii); but MSS. are referred to by their Gregory numbers. I am grateful to Professor G. D. Kilpatrick and Dr. J. Smit Sibinga for their help.

This is P 78 in Aland's list.

Fol. 1 ↔		↓	
vs. 4	γιαν και τον μο νον δεσποτην κν ημων ιην χρν		vs. 5 αρνουμενοι υπο μνησαι δε υμας βουλομε αδελφοι
	1 3		4 6
Fol. 2 ↓		↔	
vs. 7	αιωνιου δικην		σαρκα μεν μι
vs. 8	επεχουσαι ομοιωσ μεντοι και αυτοι ενυπνειαδομε νοι		αινουσιν κυρει στητα δε αθετου σιν δοξαν δε[ ]
	5		6 9



## Fol. 1

- 1 τον: om. 915.  
 2-3 δεσποτην κν: so 38, with vg (A\* F L V), Baed 2/8, Sa, Pesh, Eth (and Cyril?: see Tischendorf's apparatus). δεσποτην και κυριον rell., incl. P. Bodm.—Von Soden's K group inserts θεον after δεσποτην.  
 3 κν: τον κυριον 255. ημων om. 1829 1836 915 1838. χριστον om. 1837.  
 5 δε: ουν C Ψ 1739 323; om. 36<sup>a</sup>, Sa.  
 6 αδελφοι: the traces seem consistent with -οι or -ε; the plural follows from δμας. But no form of the word occurs here in any other MS. Naturally such vocatives tend to intrude or disappear (e.g. Romans x 1, xi 25, xv 30); but in any case Jude addresses his readers as αγαπητοι, not as αδελφοι (αδελφοι 2 Peter i 10).

## Fol. 2

- 2 επεχουσαι: so 1611 2138 1765 378 876. The oldest witnesses show confusion: υπεχουσαι P. Bodm., B C; υπεχουσαι (corr. from ουκ εχουσαι) N; υπερεχουσαι A.  
 ομοιως: ομως A.  
 3 μεντοι: μεν 307 610 453.  
 αυτοι: ουτοι rell., P. Bodm.  
 6 μεν: om. P. Bodm.  
 7-8 κυρειοτητα: κυριοτητα N 1845, Or.  
 8 δε: om. 1175.  
 9 δοξα: so 1799 (and, according to Tischendorf, 3 5 55); maiestatem most MSS. of Vulgate, Clement (Zahn, *Suppl. Clem.* p. 85): δοξαι rell., P. Bodm. The plural (only here and 2 Peter ii 10) asks for normalization. Agreement with Clement is interesting: cf. Birdsall, *JTS* 14 (1963), pp. 394 seqq.

της] αι[γυ]πτ[ο]υ προδοσιαι  
 10 λη]μφθεις α[νε]σταυρωθη :  
 εκ] δε των α[θη]γων και της  
 αλ]λης [ε]υμμαχιδος πεντη  
 κο]ντα τριηρεις διαδοχοι πλε .[

1. ελεσι : the letters seem rather crowded if correctly identified. 13. .[ : δ or α.

4 The subject of ἐδύνατο is Megabyzus, who was conducting the Persian operations in Egypt, and is the main subject of the narrative in the passage just before the papyrus begins. If the reading of the manuscripts is preferred, the subject is the Persians, but they have not been mentioned as body in the narrative, or as the plural subject of a sentence.

7 Thucydides prefers to omit the article before the ethnic in such phrases, when the ethnic comes between article and noun.

10 λημφθείς and other such forms from λαμβάνω and compounds are normal in Hellenistic and Imperial times on papyrus and stone.

11 The space will only accommodate Ἀθηνῶν. The reading was conjectured by Bekker and was later seen to have support in Schol. Townl. II. II 280 (ii, p. 179. 30 ed. Maass).

13 πλε[ουσαι] : the letters at the end of the line are crowded and there are twenty-four in the whole line. 1.3 cms. to the right of the line is a trace of the extreme left-hand letter of the last line of the next column. It looks like δ but might possibly be α. If the format of the roll resembled 1376, the number of lines to the column would have been about fifty-three.

1.2 cms. below the η of τριηρεις is an ink mark on the papyrus. Whether it is significant is hard to judge, as it is close to a hole, and the surface of the papyrus is badly rubbed. What remains looks like a dicolon but could be part of almost anything.

## IV

DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND  
BYZANTINE PERIODS

## 2704. EDICT OF A PREFECT

23 × 13 cm.

A.D. 292

The main interest of this edict, which prescribes measures against those who allow farm animals to stray and do damage to crops, is the date which it provides for Titius Honoratus, whose title of prefect is also confirmed (*v. Vandersleyen, Chronologie des préfets*, pp. 108 ff.). Its provisions are neatly illustrated by two recently published petitions from the papers of Aurelius Isidorus of Karanis (P. Cair. Isid. 78 and P. Mert. 92, both of A.D. 324), which make it clear that this was one of many pronouncements from high officials on the same subject. P. Petrie iii 26. 6 ff. (of 246–242 B.C., lately treated in Pap. Lugd. Batav. xiv, pp. 214 ff.) shows that it was a perennial problem.

The text is written on a verso in a practised cursive without pretensions to elegance and is complete on all sides though badly rubbed. The recto preserves the top of the sheet and ends of 19 lines of a document which recited a petition to a prefect, but it is too much damaged for publication.

I am much indebted to Professor Youtie for improving the text in several places.

↑ Τίτιος Ὀνωρᾶτος ὁ διασημ(ότατος) ἑπαρχ(ος) Αἰγ(ύπτου) λέγει·  
 τῆς γεωργίας καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ πόνων  
 οὐδὲν πλέον ὄσον, εἰ μὴ οἱ εἰωθότες  
 λυμαίνεσθαι τοῖς καρποῖς φυλάξαιτο  
 5 τοῦτο ποιεῖν· μανθάνω γοῦν τὴν  
 μὲν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους πλείετους ὅσους  
 καρποῦς παρεσχηκέναι, τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦς  
 ποιμένας αὐτοῖς λυμ[α]ίνεσθαι·  
 διόπερ διαγορεύω φυλάξασθαι τοῖς  
 10 καρποῖς ἐπαφείναι τὰ ζῶα· κα  
 τὰ τοῦ ἀπειθοῦντος ταῦτα ἐνεῖναι δίκη(ν)  
 ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὥστε αὐτῶν τῶν ζώων

ἀποστερηθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς ἐ-  
πιστρεφείας πειραθῆν[α]· πρόθεσ·  
15 (ἔτους) ἡ' τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος  
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ (ἔτους) ζ' τοῦ κυρίου  
ἡμῶ[ν] αὐτοκράτορος Μαξιμιανοῦ  
Μεχεῖρ [ ]θ'.

Ι. pap. διαση<sup>μ</sup> επαρ<sup>χ γ</sup> αι. ΙΙ. pap. δικῆ.

Titius Honoratus, the most distinguished prefect of Egypt, says: There would be no profit whatever from our agriculture and the pains taken with it, unless those who regularly spoil crops were to guard against doing this. I learn, in fact, that although the harvest time has produced crops in great abundance, these same herdsmen spoil them. Therefore I enjoin you to guard against allowing beasts in among the crops, (adding) that a lawsuit before my court lies against anyone who disobeys in these matters, so that he shall be deprived of the actual beasts and shall himself experience strong measures. Post in public.

'In the eighth year of our lord emperor Diocletian and the seventh year of our lord emperor Maximian. Mecheir 9th (?)'

3 πλέον ὄσον. Cf. πλείτους δεους line 6; v. Mayser II, 3, p. 96, Tabachovitz, *Études*, pp. 37 f.

μή. H. C. Y., to whom the translation is also due, read this and pointed out to me the meaning of οὐδὲν πλέον, v. L.S.J. s.v. πλείων.

10 Read κα[ι] κα- or <καί> κα-, H. C. Y. I agree but remain uncertain whether it is a case of haplography or of loss of the ink.

11 δίκη. This is one of the alternatives suggested by the editors of P. Cair. Isid. (p. 305). No doubt, as they say, the matter could also be settled out of court.

12 ἐφ' ἡμῶν. Corrected, apparently from ἐπὶ ἡμῶν. The plural is presumably a generalizing one (cf. Mayser II, 1, pp. 40 f.), the prefect and his court, rather than a *pluralis maiestatis*, v. μανθάνω (5), διαγορεύω (9).

13 ἀποστερηθῆναι. The beasts were sold publicly and the proceeds divided between the (nome) treasury and the sufferer, cf. P. Cair. Isid. 78. 7, and especially P. Mert. 92. 20. αὐτὸν τῆς. H. C. Y.

ἐπιστρεφείας. Cf. P. Mert. 92. 22 f. μετὰ τοῦ καὶ κίνδυνον ἐκδέξασθαι τοὺς τούτων νομέας ἦτοι δεσπότας.

18 [ι?]θ'. The exact day is very doubtful; 9th or 19th of Mecheir seems best, i.e. 4th or 14th of February, A.D. 292.

## 2705. OFFICIAL LETTER OF A VICE-PREFECT

32 x 32 cm.

c. A.D. 225

The exact meaning of the instructions about the lawful completion of contracts given in this letter to the *strategi* of the Heptanomia is obscure, but it is interesting to find another pronouncement by Claudius Herennianus, the *juridicus* who took over the business of the prefecture when the prefect M.

Aurelius Epagathus was lured or deported to Crete to be put to death for his part in the murder of Ulpian (v. P. Harris 68; 2565).

The copy is badly rubbed and is written on the verso of a document which consists of 10 lines of grain accounts with place-names in the Hermopolite nome, plus 18 lines of shorthand below these and 17 lines of shorthand in a second column to the right.

↑ ἔκκλημμι[ς . . .] . . . . . τησεω . . . . . [ . . . ] (ἔτους) . . . . . Ἀλεξάνδρου·  
Φαμενώθ·

Κλαύδιος Ἐρηννιαν[ός στρα]τηγοῦς ζ νομῶν καὶ Ἀ[ρ]σινοείτου χαίρειν·

[ὅ]τι μοι ἐπέστειλεν [Καλπούρ]νιος Πετρωνιανός ὁ ἀξιολογώτατος ἔναρχος  
ἀρχιδικαστῆς

μετὰ τῶν προσκειμ[ένων] ὑπομνημάτων ἐπ' ἀ[ὐτ]οῦ γενομένων ὑποταγῆναι  
ἐκέ-

5 λευσα· ὑμεῖς φρον[τίσα]τε κατὰ τὰ δεδηλωμένα νομίμως τὰ συναλλάγματα  
συν-

τελείσθαι—οὕτω γὰρ [ . . . ] [ . . . ] ἔσται τὰ συμβόλαια—καὶ τὸ ὀφειλόμενον  
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῆ

λαμπροτάτῃ πόλει τῶ[ν] Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀποδοθῆναι, μεν[ό]ντων μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ  
τοῖς

πρότερον πλημμελή[ς] αἰσι ὠρισμένων, φυλαχθησομένης δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς

10 ὁμοίας ἐπεξελεύσε[ω]ς ἐπὶ τῶν καὶ μετὰ ταύτην [τῆ]ν ὑπόμνησιν ἀπειθησάντων·  
ταύτης μου τῆς ἐπιστο[λῆς] ἀ(ντί)γραφα ὡς περιέχει δημοσιωθῆναι εὐδήλοισ

γράμμασιν ἔν τε

τῆ μητροπόλει καὶ τ[οῖς ἐπι]σήμοις τοῦ νομοῦ τόποις προνοήσαθε, ὡς μηδένα  
ἀγν[ο]ῆ-

[ς] αἰ τὰ διηγορευμέν[α] καὶ τ[αῦτα] γράφω διέ[π]ω[ν] τ[ὰ] [κα]τ' ἀ' τ[ῆ]ν  
ἡγεμονίαν ἐκ θείας κελεύσεω[ς].

(ἔτους)'' Μεχεῖρ ι . '.

Καλπουρνιο (vac.)

9. l. ἀπειθησάντων.

10. a- pap.

'Extract . . . , . . . th year of (the deified?) Alexander. Phamenoth.

'Claudius Herennianus to the *strategi* of the Seven Nomes and the Arsinoite, greeting. The message sent to me by Calpurnius Petronianus, the most worthy *archidicastes* in office, I have ordered to be set out below, together with the attached records of proceedings which were made in his presence. Do you see to it, in accordance with that information, that the

contracts are lawfully completed—for in this way the provisions of the contracts (?) will be valid (?)—and that what is owed in virtue of them is delivered to the most glorious city of the Alexandrians, the established penalties remaining in force against those who have transgressed in the past, and, still more important, with the reservation of the like legal process in the future against those who disobey even after this warning. Take care that copies of this letter of mine, exactly as it stands, are published in plain letters in the metropolis and in the well-known places in the nome so that no one may be unaware of my pronouncements. And this I write as one who is managing the affairs of the prefecture in virtue of an imperial command. . . . th year. Mecheir 15th (?).'

1 τησεω. These legible letters suggest the restoration ἐκκλημψ[ε] ἐκ τῶν ἐγκτήσεων, cf. PSI 450. 48 (verso col. i) ἐγγλημψ[ε] ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐγκτήσεων. This document, however, is not quite the sort of thing that one would naturally expect to find in the property registers. Still, it could have had a bearing on title deeds, and so have been filed there.

(ἔτους). M. Aurelius Epagathus was still officiating in May/June, A.D. 224 (2565 2 seqq.). Since the letter is dated in February (13), the year must be A.D. 225 (4 Alex. = 224/5) or later. The next prefect is attested in A.D. 229/30 (v. Stein, *Die Präfekten*, p. 130).

Ἀλεξάνδρου. The traces are extremely scanty but the space suggests θεοῦ rather than Σεφρήρου. If so, the extract was made after the death of Alexander, i.e. after the earlier part of A.D. 235.

Φαμενώθ. Feb./March. No day follows; perhaps the record from which the extract was taken was arranged by months.

3 [Καλοῦρ]νιος Πετρωνια[ός]. Cf. 14. Though this name was not known to the latest list of *archidicastae* (*Aegyptus* 32 (1952), pp. 410 seqq.), it is confirmed from 2706. It may be that the same official is referred to in 1764 9 seq. εἰς τὴν πα[ρο]υσίαν τοῦ ἀξιολογώτατου Καλοῦρνιου, but cf. 2568 1 seqq.

δ ἀξιολογώτατος. Cf. Hornickel, *Ehren- u. Rangprädikate*, pp. 3 and 21; the single reference is to PSI 1052. 16 of the beginning of the third century.

5/6 It is very difficult to say what is meant here by *εναλλάγματα* and *συμβόλαια*, since both words have such wide connotations, v. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 292, 294.

6 [. . .] [. . .] τ[ε]λε[σ]α[ι] is the obvious idea and is compatible with the traces, which are very scanty. (cun ?) τετέλεσται seems to be excluded.

6/7 τὸ δφειλόμενον . . . τῆ . . . πόλει. Cf. P. Leipz. 10 ii 20 f.

10 ἀ(ντί)γραφα. Cf., e.g., 2228 30, 41, 2558 1(a).

12 ἐκ θείας κελεύσεω[ς]. Cf. P. Harris 68. 5.

14 Καλοῦρνιο. It was not lack of room that made the writer break off. There is a depth of c. 21 cm. below this point.

2706. 11.5 × 10.5 cm. Third century. This scrap has been used to scribble on. The main item (col. ii) is an address to Καλοῦρνιῳ Πετρωνιαῶ |<sup>2</sup> ἱερεῖ ἀρχιδικαστῆ καὶ πρὸς |<sup>3</sup> τῆ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρημα[τι]στῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων |<sup>5</sup> κριτηρίων. No more of that document was written but below there are scattered letters and symbols; there are the ends of 6 lines much damaged at the left and a few very scanty traces near the right edge. The verso is blank except at the left edge near the top, where there are a few traces of ink that look more like blots than writing. The name of the *archidicastes* has proved useful for 2705, which dates him approximately, c. A.D. 225.

## 2707. CIRCUS PROGRAMME

16 × 30 cm.

Sixth century

Apparently the first of its kind to be published, this document is a programme of chariot racing and other displays, which were presumably presented in the public circus (144 2) at Oxyrhynchus.

The writing is in the 'chancery' style, with tiny *alphas* and *hyphsils* placed close to the top level of the other letters. A single word subscription, *διευτύχει*, is in cursive. I should assign it to the sixth century, comparing P. Cair. Masp. iii, Plates I and II, but the hand is so stylized that the dating may not be certain even to that extent and there is too little of the cursive for me to judge.

The exact purpose of the document is not clear. But for the subscription it might be a public notice and one might hazard the guess that it is a copy of such a notice which had to be seen and approved by a second person; perhaps it passed between two municipal officials.

† ἀγαθῆ τύχη  
 ῥικ[α]ι  
 α μίσσοσ ἡνιόχων  
 πομπή  
 5 καλοπ[α]ρ[ε]κτα[ι] βοκ[άλιοι]  
 β μί[σσοσ] ἡνιόχ[ων]  
 [ο]ἰ καλοπαῖκται βοκάλιοι  
 γ μίσσοσ ἡνιόχων  
 δόρκος καὶ κύνες  
 10 δ μίσσοσ ἡνιόχων  
 μῖμοι  
 ε μίσσοσ ἡνιόχων  
 ξυστός  
 ς μίσσοσ ἡνιόχων

(m. 2) διευτύχει

'For good fortune.  
 Victories (?).  
 1st chariot race.  
 Procession.  
 Singing rope-dancers.

2nd chariot race.  
The singing rope-dancers.  
3rd chariot race.  
Gazelle and hounds.  
4th chariot race.  
Mimes.  
5th chariot race.  
Troupe of athletes.  
6th chariot race.'

(2nd hand) 'Farewell.'

<sup>2</sup>  $\nu\kappa[a]$ . These letters are very badly damaged but the feet of  $\nu$  and  $\kappa$  are so characteristic that there can be little doubt of the word. The meaning is very uncertain. It may refer to the custom of setting up on the day of the games statues of Victory dedicated to the reigning emperors (v. *RE*, 2te Reihe, VIII A 2, 2529); compare the story in SHA. Sept. Sev. 22. 3, where two of the statues (*Victoriolae*) fall over and presage the deaths of Severus and Geta. Alternatively it may have to do with the victories of the previous day's racing.

<sup>4</sup>  $\pi\omicron\mu\pi\eta$ . The procession is elsewhere supposed to precede the events (*RE* Suppl. VII 1627, 1629).

<sup>5</sup>  $\beta\omicron\kappa[\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\iota]$ . From Latin *vocales*, v. *Soph. Lex.* s.v. In Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *funambulus*, there are pictures of rope-walkers playing musical instruments, which is the closest parallel I have come across.

<sup>13</sup>  $\xi\upsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ . A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, iii, p. 1018, knows of no mention of athletic events after the fourth century, though pointing out that Justinian's republication of Diocletian's constitution on athletic victors implies that they continued.

2708. PETITION TO AN *EPISTRATEGUS*

12 x 10 cm.

14th April, A.D. 169?

The *epistrategus* petitioned here is Subatianus Aquila, who served as prefect of Egypt in the early third century and is well known from the papyri. According to Stein's conclusions from Eusebius (*Die Präfekten*, p. 111), he became prefect in A.D. 202/3 (11 Severus and Caracalla) as the successor of Q. Maecius Laetus.<sup>1</sup> An endorsement on this papyrus mentions the ninth year. Since direct promotion from a sexagenarian post like the *epistrategia* to one of the great prefectures is inconceivable, this can hardly be 9 Severus and Caracalla, A.D. 200/1. The ninth year next before this is thirty-two years earlier, namely 9 Marcus and Verus, A.D. 168/9, which is a plausible date for this document, since in the only other known case where an *epistrategus* reached the prefecture of Egypt—that of Tiberius Julius Alexander—the process took

<sup>1</sup> It is now known that a prefect called Claudius Julianus was in office between Laetus and Aquila (BGU xi 2024).

twenty-four years. The ninth year before that is 9 Antoninus Pius, A.D. 145/6, and this is almost certainly too far back, since it would make Aquila over eighty in A.D. 210.

I am grateful to Professor Syme, who also discussed the question with Professor Birley, for assuring me that this sort of career need occasion no surprise. Youthful equestrians could be *epistrategi* and a prefect could well be elderly.

This petition once formed part of a *τόμος συγκολλησίμιος*, but the remains of the adjoining documents are too scanty to show how they were related to this one.

↔ *Κουβατιανῶ Ἀκύλα τῷ  
κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ  
παρὰ Θεομνήστου Ὠρου  
τῶν ἀπὸ Ψινεμούθεως·  
5 ἔχω κοινὴν καὶ ἀδιαίρε-  
τον οἰκίαν σὺν ψιλοῖς <τόποις>  
πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφιδοῦς  
μου Πετεμοῦνιν Πισαί-  
τος καὶ Ταῆσιν Σανκνώτος  
10 ὧν τὰ πλείονά μοι μέρη  
ἐπιβάλλει· ἐπε[ὶ ο]ἱ πλε-  
ονεκτοῦσί με[ . . . ] ἐκθλεί-  
βοντες τῶν ἐπιβαλλόν-  
των μοι μερῶν γέροντα  
15 ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἄ[τ]εκνον  
διὰ τὸ τοὺς υἱοὺς μου τετε-  
λευτηκέναι, ἀξι[ῶ] σε τὸν  
κύριον κριτὴν [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ]*

Verso

↑ *θ- (ἔτους) Φαρ(μοῦθι) ιθ-  
20 ἔχ[ουσα] ὧν' πρὸς τινας  
περὶ μερῶν οἰκ(ίας) καὶ  
ψιλ(ῶν) τόπ(ων) κριτ(ήν) καὶ  
[ . . . ] οἱ αἰτ(εῖ).*

ἔχεις κριτ ( )  
 25 Πανῆ ἢ Φίλασι  
 .]...[.]...]

'To Subatianus Aquila, his excellency the *epistrategus*, from Theomnestus, son of Horus, of the people of Psinemouthis. I have a house with vacant lands held undivided and in common with my nephew Petemounis, son of Pisais, and niece Taësis, daughter of Sansnos, of which the greater number of the shares fall to me. Since, then, they are defrauding me . . . thrusting (me) out of the shares which fall to me, an old man and childless because my sons are dead, I beg you, my lord, (to assign) a judge . . .

Verso. '9th year. Pharmouthi 19th. Having (a complaint) against certain persons concerning shares of a house and vacant lands, he asks for a judge and . . .

'You have as judge Panes or . . .'

4 Ψευμοῦθεως. Not in *WB*. iii Abschn. 16 a, or in the indexes to P. Oxy. Though a great many Oxyrhynchite village names are known, the first presumption must be that this too is Oxyrhynchite and consequently that Subatianus Aquila was *epistrategus* of the Heptanomia. I have suggested in the introduction that the document dates from A.D. 168/9 (i.e. 29th Aug. 168–28th Aug. 169). There is a vacant space in the series of *epistrategi* of the Heptanomia at this point, though Aquilius Capitolinus was in office between Nov. 169 and Nov. 170, v. 2563 1 n. For 9 Antoninus Pius (A.D. 145/6) the *epistr.* Hept. was Minicius Corellianus, who served from A.D. 144 to 147.

12 ]εκθλει|βοντες. There are several dual compounds of θλίβειν with ἐκ (i.e. *κυρεκ-*, *προεκ-*, *ἐπεκ-*, *παρεκ-*, *προσεκ-*, *ἀντεκ-*), but none in *WB*.

25 ἢ Φίλασι-. No such name as Φίλασι- is known to Pape or *NB*.

## 2709. PETITION FOR A GUARDIAN

8.5 × 31.5 cm.

A.D. 202–7 (204?)

A petition from a widow to the *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Seconded by her father, who acts as her *κύριος*, she requests the *strategus* to instruct the *γραμματεὺς* of Oxyrhynchus to appoint a guardian for her two children. Her husband has died recently without making a will. At the bottom of the document, the widow's father has written in his own hand to the effect that he is her *κύριος* and has signed the petition on her behalf as his daughter was illiterate (cf., e.g., 251, BGU 1070, P. Amh. 71).

The document can be dated between A.D. 202 and 207, and traces of the numeral representing the exact date make it likeliest perhaps that it belongs to the year 204: it comes from the reign of Severus, Caracalla and Geta, and is addressed to a hitherto unknown *strategus*, Androsthenes ὁ καὶ 'Ρούφος (?). There are only those six years available, representing perhaps two *στρατηγίαι* (see P. Mertens, *Chron. d'Ég.* 61 (1956), pp. 341 f., Pap. Lugd. Bat. xiv 15 f. and cf. *Chron. d'Ég.* 80 (1965), p. 357). The names, but not the titles, of Geta

were obliterated under Caracalla. (On the *Damnatio Memoriae* of Geta in the papyri see P. Mertens in *Hommages à Léon Herrmann*, Coll. Latomus 44 (1960), pp. 541–55.)

For the *strategus* as the delegating, and sometimes the appointing authority in cases of guardianship, see Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 161 f. and cf. Grenfell and Hunt on 888, P. Tebt. ii 397, l. 4, J. E. Powell on P. Harr. 68.

The first hand is a practised and upright half-cursive with relatively few ligatures. The second hand is cursive, sloping to the right, with the lines curving up on the right. Written with the fibres. Verso blank. Folded once down the middle and ten times down the width. The papyrus has a distinctly yellowish appearance.

I am indebted to Professor P. Mertens of Liège University for useful information about the frequency in third-century Oxyrhynchus of the names which occur here. In fact, none of the people mentioned seems to be identifiable.

'Ανδροσθένει τῷ κα[ι] 'Ρούφῳ  
 στρα(τηγῷ) 'Οξ(υρρυγχίτου)  
 παρὰ Δημαρίου 'Απίωνος τοῦ Δω-  
 ρίω[ο]ς, μητρὸς 'Ελένης, ἀπ' 'Οξυ-  
 5 ρύχων πόλεως, μετὰ κυρίου  
 τοῦ πατρὸς 'Απίωνος Δωρίω-  
 νος, μητρὸς Κλευπαροῦτος, ἀπὸ  
 τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως· ὁ ἀνὴρ μου,  
 Δι[ο]γύσιος ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων 'Απολ-  
 10 λωνίου, μητρὸς Σιμβ[ώ]νιος,  
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς π[ό]λεω[ς], ἐτελεύ-  
 [τησ]ε τῇ διελθούσῃ [ . ἡμέ]ρα  
 ἀδι[ά]θετος ἐπὶ κληρονόμοις  
 ἀφήλιξι αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἐμοῦ τέκνοις,  
 15 'Ερμῆ καὶ 'Ηραΐδι· ἐπιδίδουσα  
 οὖν τὸ β[ι]βλίδιον, ἀξιῶ ἐπιστεῦ-  
 λαι τῷ τῆς π[ό]λεως γραμματεῖ  
 ἐπίτρο[ο]πον τ[ῶν] ἀφελίκ[ω]ν κατα-  
 20 παραπολέσθαι. (ἔτους) [ι]. Αὐ[τ]οκρατόρω[ν]  
 Καϊσάρων Λοῦκίου Σεπτ[ι]μίου

Cερ[υή]ρρη Εὐσεβοῦς Π[ε]ρτίνακος  
 Ἀραβ[ικοῦ] Ἀδριαβηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
 Μεγίστου κα[ὶ] Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 25 Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦ[ς] Cεβ[α]c[τῶ]ν  
 [[καὶ] Πουβλ[ίου]ν Σεπτιμίου Γέτα]  
 Καίσαρος Σεβ[α]c[τῶ]ν· Μεχέρ κδ'.  
 (m. 2) Δημάριον [Ἀπί]ωνος [ἐπ]ιδέδω-  
 [κ]α. Ἀπίων [Δ]ωρίωνος ἐπι-  
 30 γέγραμαι τ[ῆ]ς θυγατρὸς μου[ν]  
 κύριος, κα[ὶ] ἔγραψα [ὑπ]έρ αὐτῆς  
 [μὴ εἰ]δύης γράμματα.

2. cρα} (space) οξ'. 7. υ could be ι. 15. Ἡραῖδι: not quite clear, but likely. Space after Ἡραῖδι. 16. Short space after βιβλεῖδιον. 20. [ ] [ι]. A horizontal stroke level with the bottom of the line, and half a vertical at its left-hand end: possibly the right-hand bottom half of a β with an extended base. The other examples of β in this piece are not, however, of this type. 26. Crossed through in heavy black strokes. 30. lege ἐπιγέγραμμαι. 31. κα[ὶ] uncertain from the traces, but there seems no alternative.

'To Androstheneis, called also Rufus, *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome. From Demarion, daughter of Apion son of Dorion, her mother being Helen, from the city of Oxyrhynchus, together with her father, acting as her guardian, namely, Apion the son of Dorion and of Cleuparous from the same city. My husband, Dionysius, called also Sarapion, the son of Apollonius and Sinthonis, from the same city, died on the past [ ] day intestate, leaving as his heirs his children by me, Hermes and Herais, who are not of age. Therefore, presenting this petition, I ask you to order the city clerk to appoint a guardian for the minors so that none of their patrimony may be lost. The [.] year of the Imperatores Caesars Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus, and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augusti, and Publius Septimius Geta, Caesar Augustus, the 24th of Mecheir.'

(Second hand) 'I, Demarion the daughter of Apion, have presented the petition. I, Apion the son of Dorion, am registered as my daughter's guardian and signed for her as she does not know how to write.'

1 Ἀνδροσθένης: the name is rare. The only two instances in the *Namenbuch* are from the Ptolemaic period, but cf. also 2280 (3rd cent. A.D.), where Androstheneis may be an official.

Ρούφω: the name is attested twice in third-century Oxyrhynchus: P. Erl. 101 (inv. 23 v.) 27, 1631 3.

3 Δωρίων[ος]: three times in the third century, 1416 9, 1498 5, 1667 2.

4 Ἑλένης: 1067 1, 1160 5, 1534 14, PSI 50. 83.

5 On the statutory guardianship of women, officially repealed by the *Lex Claudia*, see Taubenschlag, op. cit. pp. 170 f.

7 Κλευπαροῦτος: the name seems to be unique, and it should be considered whether it may not be a mistake for Κλευπαροῦτος. Cf. however CPJ 204. 1 Κλευπαροῦς.

9 There is a *Carapion Dionysion* in PSI 468 (Oxyrhynchus 200 A.D.) and a *Carapion* δ καὶ *Dionysios* in 2278 (mid-third cent.), but both names are very common.

12 διελθούσης: presumably a numeral is lost, though the space would accommodate only a single letter. The meaning of the phrase is 'on the last *n*th'. As it is a single numeral and no month is named, it must be a date earlier in the same month. Cf., e.g., 475 16 ὁμ[ί]αc τῆς διελθούσης ἔκ[τ]ης.

13 ἀδι[ά]θετος ἐπὶ κληρονόμοις: e.g. P. Harr. 68 (A.D. 225) 7 f. ἐτελεύτησε ἀδιάθετος ἐπὶ κληρονόμοις τρεῖν υἱοῖς.

16 ἀξιώ ἐπιστεῖλαι: ce to be supplied as, e.g., P. Tebt. 397, l. 26.

19 P. Harr. 68, l. 4 ἵς τὸ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς παραπολέσθαι. Cf. BGU 1070, l. 9 (A.D. 218).

26 For the omission to obliterate the titles as well as the names of Geta cf., e.g., 54 and 56.

29/30 On ἐπιγράφεσθαι see on P. Tebt. 379, l. 20.

## 2710. PETITION FOR A GUARDIAN

20 × 7 cm.

17th May, A.D. 261

This petition is best paralleled by 1466, but adds nothing to the subject, which is treated by Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 32, 174.

It is of interest chiefly for the form of the date; May 17th in the first Greco-Egyptian year of the emperors Macrianus and Quietus is placed in the hitherto unknown consulship of Macrianus, for the second time, and Quietus, possibly also for the second time. It seems likely that they were consuls first at the end of the preceding Julian year (A.D. 260), when they began their reign. Their names do not occur in Degraisi's *Fasti*.

This date is the latest yet known for the prefect Aemilianus and goes some way to support Stein's hypothesis that he did not try to usurp the throne till after the fall of Macrianus and Quietus (*Die Präfecten*, p. 145, *Archiv* iv, pp. 419 seq.).

The writing is across the fibres but there are no traces on the reverse side.

† .....[.]..... ιτι ...[.....]κ[.....]. ' τομ α'

ἔρμηνεία τῶν Ῥω[μαϊκῶ]ν

Λουκίω Μουσσίω Αἰμιλιανῶ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἡρᾶτος Κάστορος μητρὸς Σύραc ἀπ' Ὀξυρύν'χων πόλεως.

5 ἔρωτῶ, κύριε, δοῦναί μοι κύριον ἐπ[ι]γγρα[φ]ηζόμενον κατὰ νόμον  
 Ἰούλιον Τίτιον καὶ δόγμα συνκλήτου Αὐρηλίου Χαυρήμονα υἱὸν

Διογένους ἀρχιερατεύσαντος τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως·

ἐδόθη κυρίως ἡμῶν αὐτοκ[ρ]άτο[ρ]σι Μακριανῶ τὸ β' καὶ Κυήτῳ  
 τὸ .] ὑπάτοις (ἔτους) α' Παχ[ών] κβ'.

6. ἰουλιον, ὕον pap.

‘ . . . page . . . , roll one. Translation of the Latin. To Lucius Mussius Aemilianus the most illustrious prefect of Egypt, from Aurelia Heras, daughter of Castor and Syra, from the city of the Oxyrhynchus. I beg you, lord, to give me, as guardian to be registered in accordance with the *lex Iulia Titia* and the *senatusconsultum*, Aurelius Chaeremon, son of Diogenes, who was chief-priest of the same city. Given in the consulship of our lords the emperors Macrianus, for the second time, and Quietus, for the second (?) time. First year ; Pachon 22nd.’

1 For the most part the traces are feet only and it is uncertain how much is Latin and how much Greek. *ιτι* may be Latin ITI. I have not succeeded in reconciling it with anything suggested by the parallel in 1466, except for the end of the line. ]κ[ may be part of κολ(λημα), which is needed, or it may be part of the date, Παχών] κ[β’, followed by κολ( ) in the gap. The spacing is uncertain.

5 ἐπ[ι]γρα[φ]ησόμενον. ἐπιγραφόμενον 1466 5.

6 δόγμα συνκλήτου. References to the *senatusconsultum* need to be supplied in 720 5, 1466 1. 5 ; v. BL i, p. 327 for 720.

7 This seems to be the first clear reference to an ἀρχιερεύς of Oxyrhynchus, though it is probable that many of the people described as ἀρχιερατεύσας, βουλευτής Ὁξ. πόλεως (e.g. 1662 18, 1697 1) held the office. See Otto, *Priester u. Tempel* i, p. 45, n. 34 (with ii, p. 313), ii, p. 202, for local high priesthoods.

9 τὸ β[?]’. Cf. Introduction. The bottom edge is not preserved and it is therefore uncertain whether this was the last line or not, cf. 1466 10, but it can be seen that the blank space below line 9 is slightly deeper than the usual interlinear space.

## 2711. PETITION TO A PREFECT

16 × 8 cm.

c. A.D. 268–71

The exact object of this petition is not known because of the loss of everything after line 10, but it was a matter relating to the guardianship of the three children of the petitioner’s nephew.

The name of the prefect is of interest, because his *nomen* occurs here for the first time in the papyri and confirms Stein’s identification of the prefect Ammianus with the Statilius Ammianus whose earlier career is partly known from inscriptions (v. *Die Präfekten*, p. 150).

Unfortunately a firm date for his term of office is still lacking, though this document belongs after the death of Gallienus (A.D. 268) and is therefore later than the earliest date available for him.<sup>1</sup>

↔ Στατιλίω Ἀμμιανῶ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ὀρείωνος Ἀνεικίτου ἀγωνοθετήσαν[το]ς γυμνασιάρχου βου-  
λευτοῦ τῆς Ὁξύρυγγιτών λαμπρᾶς πόλεως· [τ]ῆν ἐκ φύσεως ὀφειλομέ-  
νην ἀποσώζων εὖνοιαν, λαμπρότατε ἡγεμ[ών, πρὸς το]ὺς υἱάς τοῦ ἀδελφι-

<sup>1</sup> See now also P. Wis. 2, which dates from the reign of Aurelian and apparently reads in line 6 Ἀ]μμιανῶ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ.

## 2712. PETITION TO A DEPUTY-STRATEGUS

5 δοῦ μου Ἀνεικίτου τοῦ καὶ Ῥεμμίου Αὐρηλίου Α[ . . . ] . . . καὶ Ῥέμμιον  
καὶ Αὐρηλίαν Εὐδαιμονίδα σφόδρα κομιδῇ ἀπ[ό]ρους ἀπολ[ε]ιμμένους  
τῆν ἀξίωσιν ποιούμαι ἢ σύνψηφος γένοιτο ἂν [δι]καιοτάτῃ τυγχανούσῃ καὶ  
ἢ σὴ τύχῃ· κατὰ γὰρ τὸ ἰδ (ἔτος) τῆς θεοῦ Γαλλιανοῦ βα[σ]ι[λεί]ας τοῦ πατρὸς  
αὐτῶν τύχῃ  
χρησαμένου ἔτι ἐπ’ ἔμμαντος ἔμενον ὡς τῆς μητρ[ὸς αὐτῶν] Αὐρηλίας  
10 Θαή[σι]ος ἐν χηρείᾳ τυγχανούσης καὶ ἐπειδὴ νῦν  
. . . . .  
7. ἡ παρ.

‘ To Statilius Ammianus, the most illustrious prefect of Egypt, from Aurelius Horion, son of Anicetus, ex-agonothetes, gymnasiarch, senator of the glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. Cherishing the good will due by nature, most glorious prefect, towards the children of my nephew Anicetus, *alias* Remmius, (namely) Aurelius A . . . and Aurelius Remmius and Aurelia Eudaemonis, whom he left quite utterly destitute, I make this petition, to which, since it is most just, (I pray) your *genius* may agree. For after their father met his doom in the fourteenth year of the deified Gallienus they still lived with me while their mother Aurelia Thaeisis was in her widowhood and since now . . .’

4 υἱάς = ‘ children ’, cf. PSI 1039. 37 υἱὸν ἄρρενα.

6 ἀπ[ό]ρους? αχ. [ would also be possible.

## 2712. PETITION TO A DEPUTY-STRATEGUS

15 × 20 cm.

A.D. 292/3

The name of a prefect of Egypt, one Rupilius Felix, occurs here for the first time. It seems probable that he was the direct successor of Titius Honoratus, who was active in February of the previous Egyptian year, cf. 2704.

In spite of the damage at the left the legal steps are clear in outline. The petitioner’s tenant-farmer petitioned the prefect against her, the prefect delegated the case to the *strategus* and she by this document asked the *strategus*’s department to communicate this decision to the farmer.

The allegation seems to be that the farmer wished to surrender his lease while he still owed several amounts of rent and taxes both in money and kind. His grounds for petitioning the prefect are not clear, though they may be stated in the damaged lines 10–11.

↔ Αὐρηλίω] Ἀσκληπιάδῃ γενομένῳ ὑπομνημ(απογράφῳ) διαδεχ[ (ομένῳ) ]  
τῆν] στρατηγίαν Ὁξύρυγγιτου·  
π[α]ρ[ά] Αὐρηλίας Διοσκουριαίνης ματρῶνας στολ[ά]τας  
θυγατρ[ὸς] Διοσκόρου τοῦ καὶ Ἀμμωνιανοῦ γενομένου ὑπομνημ(απογράφου)



5 καὶ ὡς ἐχρημάτιζεν· Κάλπων τις Κορηλίου ἐκ πα-  
 τρὸς μισθούμενος χωρίον ἡμέτερον περὶ κώμην  
 Ἰβίωνα Χύριον καὶ κυτικὴν γῆν ὀφείλων ἱκανὰ  
 [...] [...] . . . ἐκφορίων καὶ φόρων καὶ λόγου ἐκτάκτων  
 . . . . . ] καὶ οἶνον καὶ μὴ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ποιησάμενος  
 10 . . . . . ] ρα· ὥσας δὲ τὸ χωρίον . . . . . ] . . . . . α  
 . . . . . ] . . . . . αυτω . . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . .  
 . . . . . ] ἀνήνεγκεν τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ κυρί[ο]υ μ[ου]  
 διασημοτάτω ἡγεμόνος Ρουπιλίου Φήλικος . . . . . ]  
 . . . . . ] ν τούτων γεωργίαν, ἀλλὰ ἀνεξάρπαστος ὢν ὁ κύρ[ιος] . . .  
 15 μου ἡγεμόνων ἀνέπεμψεν ἐπὶ σὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὥστε τὰ  
 . . . . . ] κειψάμενόν σε [ὀ]ριεῖν τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὑπὲρ του  
 . . . . . ] ρειν αὐτῷ τὸ οἶεσθαι δύνασθαι τῆς κατερ[γ]ασίας  
 . . . . . ] ὦν μεταστῆναι ὀφείλοντι οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ[ὰ] παρα  
 . . . . . ] τὸ χωρίον, ἐπιδίδωμι τὰ βιβλία μαρτυροῦσα  
 20 . . . . . ] καὶ ἀξιούσα ἐπισταλῆναι δι' ἐνὸς τῶν περὶ σ[ε] ὑπηρε-  
 τῶν τῷ προγεγ[ραμμένῳ Κάλπωνι ἕν' εἶδη ἀνίσχυρα αὐτῷ εἶναι  
 . . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ]  
 . . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ]  
 . . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ]  
 25 ἔτους ἐνάτου] αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Αὐρηλίου Ο[ὐ]ά[λ]ηριου  
 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ ἔ]τους ἧ' αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [Μάρκου Οὐ]αλερίου  
 Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερμ[ανικῶν] Μεγίστων, Εὐσεβῶν, [Εὐ]τυχῶν, Σεβαστῶν·  
 (m. 2) Αὐρηλία Διοσκο[υρ](<ί>)αίνα ἐπ[ιδέ]δωκα.

I. υπομνημ. 3. στολ. 4. υπομνημ.

‘To Aurelius Asclepiades, former *hypomnemato-graphus*, deputy-*strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelia Dioscuriaena, matron entitled to wear the *stola*, daughter of Dioscorus, *alias* Ammonianus, former *hypomnemato-graphus*, and however he was styled.

‘A certain Salpon, son of Cornelius, lessee of a farm of mine near the village of Ibiou Chysis and also of grain-bearing land, owing several . . . of rent and taxes and on account of special payments . . . and wine, and not having made delivery . . . And saving (?) the farm . . . he petitioned his Highness my lord the most illustrious prefect Rupilius Felix . . . (the) farming of these (properties), but being impossible to deceive (?), my lord the prefect delegated the affair to you, so that you, having examined the . . . should define the provisions of the law relating to . . . (and prevent him from ?) thinking that he can abandon the agricultural work . . . while owing a great deal, but . . . the farm. I submit the petition testifying . . . and requesting that a message be delivered by one of your assistants to the aforesaid Salpon so that he may know that his audacities . . . are invalid and in every

way . . . that he may make . . . of the property in the proper fashion . . . (and so that he not be ?) buoyed up (?) by . . .

‘Ninth year of the Emperor Caesar Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus and 8th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Valerius Maximianus, Germanici Maximi, Pii, Felices, Augusti; (month, day).’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Aurelia Dioscuriaena, submitted (the petition).’

1 ‘Asκληπιάδης; v. 59 6 of Mecheir, A.D. 292. It is not clear whether he served continuously over this period or on particular occasions only.

7 Ἰβίωνα Χύριον; here apparently treated as a double-barrelled name ‘I. Χύριος and not ‘I. Χύριος, as previously read and restored, v. 1442 2, 1637 27, 1724 13.

13 ἡγεμόνος; this presumably means ‘prefect’ and not ‘*praeses*’. The ambiguity of the word is presumed to have begun c. A.D. 297, v. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets*, p. 100.

14 ἀνεξάρπαστος; *add. lex*. The context does not clearly define the meaning.

## 2713. PETITION TO A PREFECT

19 × 26 cm.

c. A.D. 297

A point of interest that this ordinary petition provides is the address to Aristius Optatus, the prefect whose name has become famous from his edict about the tax reforms of Diocletian (P. Cair. Isid. 1).

The petitioner claimed that her mother's two brothers were detaining the third share of her maternal grandfather's estate, which should have descended to her through her mother, and had illegally taken the profits from it during her minority.

↔ Ἀριστίω Ὀπτάτῳ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἐπ[άρχῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου]  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Διδύμης θυγατρὸς Διδύμου ἀπὸ τ[ῆς] λαμ[πρᾶς] καὶ λαμ[προτάτης]  
 Ὀξυρ[γ]χειῶν πόλεως· τὸ ὑπὸ ξένων ἀδικεῖσθαι χα[λεπόν], ἀλλὰ τὸ ὑπὸ  
 καὶ ξυγγενῶν χαλεπώτατον· γεγόνασιν τῷ . . . . . ] . . . . . ] [πάππ]ῳ τῷ κατὰ [μη-  
 5 τέρα Διοσκόρω παῖδες τρίς, Θεῶν καὶ Διόσκορος καὶ Πλουτάρχῃ <ῆ> ἐμῇ  
 μήτ[ηρ], ἐ-  
 φ' οἷς κληρονόμοις τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν· ἀλλὰ χρόνου μεταξὺ γενομένου τ[ὸν] αἰ-  
 ῶν' ἀποδέδωκεν ἡ ἐμῇ μήτ[ηρ], ἐμοῦ καταδεοῦς τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ ἐν ὀρφ[ανία]  
 καθεστῶσης· ἄμεινον δ' ἐπίστασε, ἡγεμόνων δέσποτα, ὅτι τὸ γυναικείον γ[ένος]  
 εὐκαταφρόνητον πέφυκεν διὰ τὸ περὶ ἡμᾶς τῆς φύσεως ἀθηνέες· π[άν]τα  
 10 γὰρ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ἑαυτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς προπεσοῦσης κληρονομί[ας],  
 ἐνὸς ὄντος οἴκου καὶ μιᾶς ξυγγενείας, ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς οἰκίας ἦν ἐν ἧ [οἰκῆ-  
 και (?)] συνδιέτοι ἦσαν—λέγω δὴ ἀνδροπόδων καὶ οἰκοπέδων καὶ ἐνδομ[ενίας]

καὶ κεινουμένων ἀδειαίρων ὄντων· ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ ἐπὶ περιγρα[φή] ἐ-  
 μῆ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τῆς μητρός μου οἱ ὁμομήτριοι συνδυάζοντες ἀλλήλο[ις]  
 15 κενῆ καὶ ματαία ἀγοία τὰ λοιπὰ ὡς ἐβουλήθησαν ἐπεκράτησαν [ἔκα-  
 στος ὦν καὶ ἐβούλετο σωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἐμὲ παρ' οὐδέ[ν] ἡγού-  
 μενοι ἀλλ' ὡς ἔστιν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπωθούμενοι τῆς κληρονομίας τῆς [ἐπιβαλ-  
 λούσης μοι τοῦ τρίτου μέρους· νῦν γοῦν ἀνασφήλασα, τῆς σῆς ἐπαγρύπ[νου]  
 τύχης συναραμένης, ἀρχο[μένη τε] ἐμαυτὴν γνωρίζω οὐδενὶ ἐπανε[λθεῖν]  
 20 ἢ σοὶ τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ πάντων [εὐεργέτ]ῃ καὶ κηδεμόνι ἔσπευσα δεηθῆναί σου ὅπ[ω]ς νο-  
 ῆσας με στερουμένην κελεύ[σῃ]ς [ὁ]πότε ἂν σοὶ δ[οκῆ] ἐπαναγ' κασθήνα[ι] τοὺς  
 πρὸς μητρός μου θεῖους τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντά μοι μέρ[η] ἀπὸ διαδοχῆς τῆς μη[τρὸς]  
 εἰς ἐμὲ κατανήσασα ἀποκαταστήσῃ μοι μετὰ καὶ τ[ῶ]ν ἐκ τότε μέχρι νῦν δ[ιαφό-  
 ρων τῶν ἀνδραπόδων καὶ ἐνοικίων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων καὶ ἐξῆς π[ίστε]-  
 25 ὡς καὶ καλοκαίρια θείας τὰ μητρώα ἀπολαβοῦσα διὰ π[α]ντὸς τῆς τύχης σου χ[άριτας]  
 ὁμολογήσω·  
 διεντύχει·  
 (m. 2) Αὐρηλία Διδύμη διεπεμφάμην πρὸς ἐπίδοσ[ι]ν·  
 Αὐρηλιος Θῶνεις ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ ἰδυεῖς γράμα[τα].

On the back, along the fibres :

ἐπικεφαλῆ . . .

3. 1. ἀδικεῖσθαι. 8. 1. ἐπίστασαι. 12. 1. συνδίαυτοι, ἀνδραπόδων. 23. 1. κατανήσαστα,  
 ἀποκαταστήσαι. 24. 1. ἐκ σῆς. 28. 1. γράμματα.

'To Aristius Optatus, the most distinguished prefect of Egypt, from Aurelia Didyme, daughter of Didymus, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. To be wronged by strangers is hard, but to be wronged even by kinsmen is very hard. There were born to my grandfather on my mother's side, Dioscorus, three children, Theon and Dioscorus and Plutarche, my mother, who were his heirs when he departed this life. But after an interval my mother rendered up her life while I was under age and already an orphan. And you know very well, lord prefect, that the female tribe is by nature easily despised because of the weakness of our nature. For all that was left to us (?) by the fore-going inheritance—being one household and one family—was in that very house in which they lived in partnership, I mean because the slaves and lands and household and moveable goods were all held in common. But in the meanwhile my mother's brothers by the same mother, conspiring with one another in vain and empty madness with intent to defraud me, laid hands on the rest as they wished, each of them whatever he wanted of the slaves and everything else, taking no account of me but, so to speak, even thrusting me out of the inheritance that belongs to me of the third share. Now, however, recovering myself with the help of your watchful *genius* and beginning to recognize that I myself can have no (further ?) recourse to anyone but you, benefactor and guardian of me and of all, I made haste to beg you, as you see me being robbed, to give orders, whenever it pleases you, that my uncles on my mother's side should be forced to restore to me the shares that fall to me, coming to me

by succession to my mother, along with the emoluments from that time till now of slaves and rents and all the rest, and when I receive back my mother's possessions as a result of your good faith and nobility I shall forever declare my gratitude to your *genius*. Farewell.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelia Didyme, sent (the petition) for submission. I, Aurelius Thonis, wrote on her behalf because she does not know letters.'

4 ξυγγενῶν, cf. 11 ξυγγενεῶν. Substitution of ξ for c in σύν and compounds is relatively rare in the papyri. Mayser (I, p. 210) says that it does not occur in Ptolemaic documents. Cf. Croenert, *Mem. Gr. Herc.* p. 95 n. 1, with its reference to BGU 636. 33.

a [.] . . [πάππ]ω. Not ἐμαυτοῦ οὐ ἐμῷ.

6 τῶν αἰ[ῶ]ν' ἀποδέδωκεν. Cf. τὴν ἀγίαν ἐκείνην ἀπέδωκε ψυχὴν, in *Vita Pachomii*, Σ 88 (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 19 (Brussels, 1932), p. 268. 24).

10 ἐαυτοῖς. Probably equals ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, v. Mayser<sup>2</sup> I ii, pp. 63 seq.

12/13 The supplement is not very well founded. But the people concerned seem to be the petitioner's uncles, possibly with the addition of her mother Plutarche, though her death has already been referred to (7 f.). To restore a feminine (e.g. οἰκοῦσαι, πάσαι) would assume an error of fact.

19/20 οὐδενὶ . . . ἢ. There seems hardly room for ἄλλω at the end of the line, but it must be understood, if not supplied. Cf. Luc. *Dem. enc.* 30 ad fin. τί τὸ πλέον, εἰ ζῶν ἀφίκετο ; πάντως οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτὸν ἢ ἀπέκτενας.

23 δ[ιαφό]ρων. Cf. 1118 6/7 n.

24 π[ίστε]ως. *Exempli gratia*, cf. P. Strassb. 296 recto 16.

Verso. This endorsement is hard to understand. 'Poll-tax' is not obviously appropriate. 'Summary' is perhaps more likely, though in that case it seems to have been unfinished. ι is possible after ε, but the next one or two letters do not look compatible with any case of ἐπικεφάλιον or -αιον, though it can hardly be anything else.

## 2714. NOMINATION OF VILLAGE LITURGISTS

11 × 33 cm.

29th Aug. A.D. 256

This is a straightforward document of the type officially called *προσάγγελμα* (e.g. P. Flor. 2 i 3), submitting to the *strategus* the names of the liturgists designated by the villagers for the year just beginning. The names of the *strategus* and his deputy do not appear in the lists by Henne and Mussies (*in Pap. Lugd. Bat.* xiv).

The verso, which is much rubbed, has been used for a list of names in alphabetical order.

Αὐρηλίω Καβείνω στρατηγῷ Ὁξυρυγχείτου  
 δι' Αὐρηλίου Πετρωνίου διαδόχου  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Παγώνιος Πα . . . τος καὶ Πα-  
 ταύριος Καρᾶτος ἀμφοτέρων κωμαρχῶν  
 5 ἐποικίου Πανευῖ τοῦ διελθόντος γ (ἔτους)· γραφή

λειτούργων τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος δ (ἔτους) ἢ συσταθείσα  
ὑφ' ἡμῶν γνώμη τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐποικίου·  
ἔστι δέ·

κωμάρχει· Τηλέμαχος Καράτος μη(τρὸς) Ἑλένης

10 Πατάς Ἡρακλήου μητρὸς Τακαθίδος  
ἐπιστάτης εἰρήνης·

Πατάρχης Πεκύσιος μη(τρὸς) Πλουτάρχης  
πεδιοφύλαξ· Κάστωρ Τηλεμάχου μη(τρὸς) Ταῦριος  
τηρηταὶ κώμης καὶ καρπῶν·

15 Πλουτίων Διογᾶτος μη(τρὸς) Ἡρακλοῦτος

Πεκῦσις Ἀμμωνίου μη(τρὸς) Ταμούσιος  
Κεφάλων Παποντῶ[ος] μη(τρὸς) Τααρφοκράτος  
Πέττιρις Μετάϊτος μη(τρὸς) Κολλαύχιος  
άλωνοφύλαξ· Καῖων Ὡρου μη(τρὸς) Πλουτάρχης

20 οἱ πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐποικίου εὔπο-

ροι καὶ ἐπιτήδειοι ταῖς χρεῖαις· τελ<sup>-</sup>  
(ἔτους) δ' Ἀυτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Πουπλίου

Λικινίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Πουπλίου Λικινίου  
Οὐαλεριανοῦ Γαλλιανοῦ εὐσεβῶν εὐτυχῶν

25 σεβαστῶν· Θῶθ α'· (m. 2) Αὐρήλιοι Παγῶνις καὶ Παταῦρις

ἐπιδεδώκαμεν· Α[ῦ]ρήλι[ος] . . . ὠν Πλουτίωνος ἀπ' Ὁ-  
ξυρύγχων πόλεως ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδότη(ων)  
γράμματα.

22. δ corr. e γ.

' To Aurelius Sabinus, *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, through Aurelius Petronius his deputy, from Aurelius Pagonis, son of P . . ., and Aurelius Patauris, son of Saras, both *comarchs* of the hamlet of Paneui for the past third year, the list of liturgists of the present fourth year compiled by us with the consent of the people of the hamlet.

' It is as follows :

' *Comarchs* : Telemachus, son of Saras, whose mother is Helene ; Patas, son of Heracleus, whose mother is Takathis.

' Overseer of the peace : Patarches, son of Pekysis, whose mother is Plutarche.

' Field guard : Castor, son of Telemachus, whose mother is Tauris.

' Watchmen for village and crops : Plution, son of Diogas, whose mother is Heraclous ; Pekysis, son of Ammonius, whose mother is Tamounis ; Cephalon, son of Papontos, whose mother is Taharphocras ; Pettiris, son of Metais, whose mother is Collauchis.

' Guard of the threshing-floor : Saion, son of Horus, whose mother is Plutarche ; all from the same hamlet with sufficient means and fit for the services.

' In the fourth year of the emperors Caesars Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus, Pii, Felices, Augusti. Thoth 1st. (2nd hand) We, Aurelius Pagonis and Aurelius Patauris have submitted (this list). I, Aurelius . . . on, son of Plution, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, wrote on their behalf since they do not know letters.'

21 τελ<sup>-</sup>. Perhaps τελε(ειωθέν), or the like, indicating that the appointments were confirmed and published (v., e.g., P. Flor. 2 i 1 ff.) by the *strategus*. It appears to be in the same hand as the body of the document.

## 2715. NOMINATION TO A LITURGY

11 × 26 cm.

30th Aug. A.D. 386

There are two copies of this submission, one much better spelt than the other and complete except for some damage to the middles of the first four lines. The second contains only lines 1-16. The text printed is that of the first, and the orthographic variants have not been recorded, but the second papyrus has been useful for the restoration of the names of the consuls and the *logistes*.

M. Mertens in his book *Les Services de l'état civil* quotes some documents that tend to show that the *systates* held office for a year (Table, p. 44) and deduced from certain texts showing the same *systates* in action over a long period that ex-holders could be re-appointed in every third year. The present *systates* is now known to have been active in 363/4 (1116), 381/2 (PSI 1108) and 386/7 (2715), and the interval between the last two dates is incompatible with a theory of regular re-appointment, though not with a minimum period of two clear years between appointments.

ὑπατεία[ς Φλ(αοίου) Ὀνωρίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου  
καὶ Φλ(αοίου) Ε[ὐδοίου· ] Θῶθ α'·

Φλαουί[ω] Ἡκυχίω λογιστῆ Ὁξυρυγχίτου  
παρὰ Αὐ[ρη]λίου [Μουσέω]ς Θέωνος ἀπὸ τῆς

5 αὐτῆς πόλεως συστάτου φυλῆς Δρόμου

Γυμνασίου καὶ ἄλλων ἀμφόδων· δίδω-  
μι καὶ εἰσαγγέλλω τῷ ἰδίῳ μου κινδύ-

νω εἰς ναυτικὴν ὑπηρεσίαν δημο-  
σίων πλοίων πλατυπηγίων ἐφ' ἐπι-

10 αὐτὸν ἕνα τῶν ἀπὸ νευμηνίας

Θῶθ ἕως Μεσορῆ ἐπαγομένων  
πέμπτης καὶ αὐτῆς πέμπτης

τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτ[ο]υς ξγ' λβ'  
 τῆς ἐνεστῶσης[ε π]εντεκαιδεκά-  
 15 τῆς ἰνδικτίονο[ε τὸ]ν ἐξῆς  
 ἐνγεγραμμένον ὄντα ἐπιτή-  
 διον πρὸς τὴν χρίαν· ἔστι δέ·  
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίωχος Δωρ[ο]θέου  
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως τῆς αὐτῆς φυλ(ῆς).  
 20 (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Μουσεῆς κυστάτης ἐπιδέ-  
 δωκα.

'In the consulship of Flavius Honorius, the most noble, and Flavius Euhodius. Thoth 1st.

'To Flavius Hesychius, *logistes* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Mouses, son of Theon, from the same city, *systates* of the tribe of the Gymnasium Street and other quarters. I present and announce at my own personal risk for naval service on the public flat boats for one year from the 1st Thoth until the fifth of the intercalary days of Mesore, inclusive of the fifth, of the present year 63 (and) 32, of the present fifteenth indiction, the after-mentioned person who is fit for the office.

'He is:—Aurelius Antiochus, son of Dorotheus, from the same city, of the same tribe.' (2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Mouses, *systates*, submitted (this nomination).'

2 The second copy has Φλαουί[ου] | Εὐ[ο]δίου.

3 The second copy has Φλαουίου Ἡερῶν (sic). The name of the *logistes* is new, i.e. not in the list given by B. R. Rees in *JJP* 7-8 (1953-4), pp. 104-5.

4 Μουσεῶς. See introd.

9 ἐφ' ἐν[ι]αυτόν. The aspiration is often found, cf. 1116, PSI 1108, Mayser I, p. 200.

10 νευμηγίας. Cf. Θεῦδοτος, Θεῦδωρος etc., Mayser I, pp. 114, 153 (28. 3).

## 2716. TAX-RECEIPT FOR ἐπικεφάλαιον πόλεως

7.5 × 7 cm.

A.D. 302/3

↑ διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλίου  
 πόλεως ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐνεστῶ-  
 τος (ἔτους) ιθ' καὶ (ἔτους) ιη' καὶ (ἔτους) ια  
 ὀνόμ(ατος) Μαξίμος <ε>τιππας  
 5 ἀργυρίου δραχμ(ᾶς) χιλίας  
 διακοσίας γίνονται) Ἄς

1. 1. ἐπικεφαλίου. 4. ονομ[α] pap. 1. Μαξίμου ετιππάτος. 5. δραχμ[ᾶ] pap. 6. γ[ρ] pap.

'There was paid for city poll-tax of the present 19th, 18th, and 17th year in the name of Maximus, a tow-worker (?), one thousand two hundred drachmae of silver, total, 1,200 dr.'

- 2 πόλεως. See 2717 1 note.  
 3 19 Diocletian, 18 Maximian, 11 Constantius and Galerius = A.D. 302/3.  
 4 <ε>τιππας. The reading is very doubtful, but cf. 2579 9.  
 6 The papyrus is torn below this line. Probably there was an official subscription, cf. 2717 and the parallel texts cited there in the note to 1. 1.

## 2717. TAX-RECEIPT FOR ἐπικεφάλαιον

7 × 11 cm.

A.D. 294-7

This receipt for ἐπικεφάλαιον (πόλεως) is noteworthy because it names and dates a *catholicus*, Memmius Rufus, who has probably appeared also in 1410 1, where the *nomen* was read as Μαγ[νί]ο[ν].

διεγράφη ὑ(πὲρ) ἐπικεφ[α]λ[α]ίου  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ια (ἔτους) καὶ [ι (ἔτους) καὶ γ (ἔτους)]  
 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν [Δ]ιοκλη[τ]ιανοῦ  
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβα[στ]ῶ[ν]

5 καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξίμιανοῦ

τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων [Καϊσάρων

ἀκολούθως τοῖς κελευ[ε]ῖς[ε]

ὑπὸ τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολ[ικ]οῦ

Μεμμίου Ρουφῶ ὀνόματος

10 Ἀμμων [ἀ]ργυρίου δραχ[μ]ᾶς

χειλίας διακ[ο]σίας [(γίνονται)] (δρ.) Ἄς

Χωσίων κυστάτης

δι(ὰ) Ἡρωῶς βοση(θοῦ) ξεξη(μείωμα) [

(m. 2) ὁ α(ὐτό)ς Ἀμμων διε[γρά]φη ὑ(πὲρ) [

15 τοῦ ιγ (ἔτους) καὶ ιβ (ἔτους) καὶ [ε (ἔτους)]

ἄλλας δραχμᾶς ὀκ[τ]ακοσίας

(γν.) (δρ.) ω' . . . Χωσίων[

κυστάτης [

9. 1. Μεμμίου Ρουφῶ.

10. 1. Ἀμμωνος.

'There was paid for (city) poll-tax of the present 17th, 18th and 3rd year of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti, and Constantius and Galerius, the most noble Caesars, in accordance with the commands of the most illustrious *catholicus*, Memmius Rufus, in the name of Ammon, one thousand two hundred drachmae of silver, total 1200 dr.

'I, Chosion, *systates*, through Heron, assistant, signed.'

(2nd hand) 'The same Ammon paid, for (city poll-tax of ?) the 13th, 12th and 5th year, another eight hundred drachmae.

'I, Chosion, *systates*, (signed).'

1 ἐπικεφ[α]λ[αίου] ? πόλεως. πόλεως appears in PSI 163, 462, 2579 and 2716, but not in PSI 302, 780 or 2578. It is doubtful whether any distinction is intended. The signature of the *systates*, a municipal official, certainly shows that a city tax is referred to here.

2 11, 10, 3 = A.D. 294-5.

9 Memmius Rufus. It seems probable that this is the same *catholicus* as the Μαχ[υ]λ[υ] of 1410 1. That document is now in Cairo.

2717 supplies him with a more reliable date than the one obtainable from 1410, v. J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, p. 257.

10 Ἀμμων. It is not necessary to supply a name in the preceding line and regard this as a patronymic. Single names suffice in several of the parallels, and confirmation is supplied here from line 14. The disregard of grammar is also paralleled in other receipts.

11 All that is dotted here after διακοσίας is illegible and should be regarded as restored from the parallels.

14 At the end of this line something like ἐπι(εφαλαίου) may be missing, but it is also possible that the text runs straight on to the next line, as in PSI 780. 7.

15 13, 12, [5] = A.D. 296-7. It is a little surprising that the payments are not for successive years, but cf., for example, P. Cair. Isid. 34.

17 f. The dotted letters (17) look like διὰ, possibly struck through. In the next line *ευστάτης* is better than *ευστάτου*. There is blank papyrus after it so that *εεση(μείωμαι)* was either omitted or separated from it by more than 1 cm. διὰ Χωσίων | *ευστάτου* is a possibility, but I prefer διὰ Χωσίων | *ευστάτης* [εεση( )].

## 2718. RECEIPT

22 × 31 cm.

5th June, A.D. 458

Four ironsmiths acknowledge to a senator the receipt of money for expenditure on nails and other materials for a public bath. Because of the scarcity of fifth-century papyri, it can be regarded as having some interest, and the building of new public baths shows that things did not come completely to a standstill during this period.

I owe some improvements of the text to a pupil with whom I re-read it, Mr. W. J. Tait.

↔ μετὰ τήν] ὑπατίαν Φλα[ουίω]ν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ 'Ρούφου τῶν  
λαμπροτά]των· Παῦνι ια·

..... Λ]ευκαδίω τῷ αἰδεσίμῳ πολιτευομένῳ τῆς λαμπρᾶς  
καὶ λαμ]προτάτης 'Οξυρρυ'χιτῶν πόλεως Αὐρήλιοι Ἀβραάμ

5 Μ[αρτυ]ρίου καὶ Σερήνος Φοιβάμμωνος καὶ Ἀπφοῦς Διδύμου

κ[αὶ] Ἰωάννης Κορνηλίου καὶ Καμουήλ Φοιβάμμωνος οἱ  
πάντες σιδηροχαλκε[ῖ]ς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως· κυρίου  
καὶ βεβαίου ὄντος τοῦ ἄλλου προτέρου ἡμῶν ἐνταγίου  
τῆ πίστει αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθῶς ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης  
10 καὶ νῦν ἐσχηκέναι καὶ ὑ[πο]δεδέχθαι ἡμ[ᾶ]ς παρὰ τῆς εἰς ἀρετῆς ὑπέρ  
τιμῆς ἡλῶν καὶ ἄλλης ἐπιχρείας δοθέντων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον  
λοῦτρον τὸ ἐν θεῷ γενόμενον χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δύο καὶ πρὸς  
ἀσφάλει[αν] τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τῶν αὐτῶν δύο νομισματίων  
κ[αὶ] τοῦτο ἐθέμεθα τὸ ἐντάγιον κύριον ὄν καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες  
15 ὁμολογήσαμεν· (m. 2) Αὐρήλιοι Ἀβραάμ Μαρτυρίου καὶ Σερήνος Φοιβάμ-  
μωνος καὶ Ἰ'Α]πφοῦς Διδύμου καὶ Ἰωάννης Κορνηλίου καὶ Καμουήλ  
Φοιβάμμωνος οἱ προ]κείμενοι πεποιήμεθα τὸ ἐντάγιον ὑποδεξάμενοι  
καὶ νῦν τὰ δι[.....] ἔργου τοῦ δημοσίου λ[ο]ύτρον καὶ συμφωνῶν ἡμῶν  
πάντα τὰ ἐγγ[εγραμ]μ[ε]ν[ῶ]ν ὡς πρόκειται· Αὐρήλιος Ἐ[ρ]μῆνος Ἀλυπίου ἔγραψα  
20 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν π[α]ρόντων γράμ]ματα μὴ εἰδόντων.

δι' ἐμ[οῦ] ..... συμ]βολαί[ο]γράφ(ου) ἐγράφη  
].....

Verso: ↔ ] [. ] . καὶ Σερήν[ου] καὶ Ἀπφοῦ καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ Καμο[υ]ηλίου  
σιδηροχαλκ(ῶν) ἀπὸ τῆς 'Οξυρρυ'χιτῶν χρ(υσοῦ)  
ν' ο' (μισμάτια) β'.

17. 1. ἐντάγιον.

'After the consulship of Flavius Constantinus and Flavius Rufus the most illustrious. Payni 11th.

'To . . . Leucadius the venerable senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius Abraham, son of Martyrius, Aurelius Serenus, son of Phoebammon, Aurelius Apphous, son of Didymus, Aurelius John, son of Cornelius, and Aurelius Samuel, son of Phoebammon, all ironsmiths from the same city. Our other earlier receipt remaining valid and warranted, in accordance with the integrity of it we declare with mutual guarantee that on the present occasion too we have received and accepted from your Excellency, for the price of nails and other equipment supplied for the public bath which is now, with God's help, being built, two *solidi* of gold; and for the assurance of the receipt of the said two *solidi* we also drew up this receipt, which is valid, and in answer to the formal question we gave our assent.

(2nd hand) 'We, Aurelius Abraham, son of Martyrius, Aurelius Serenus, son of Phoebammon, Aurelius Apphous, son of Didymus, Aurelius John, son of Cornelius, and Aurelius Samuel, son of Phoebammon, the foregoing, made the receipt after receiving on the present occasion too (the allowances for ?) work on the public bath, and all the contents as aforesaid

satisfy us. I, Aurelius Herminus, son of Alypius, wrote on their behalf in their presence, because they do not know letters.

'It was written through me, . . .'

(Notarial signature)

Verso. (Receipt? of Abraham) and Serenus and Apphous and John and Samuel, ironsmiths from the (city) of the Oxyrhynchites; two *solidi* of gold.'

- 2 λαμπροτάτων. Cf. Hornickel, *Ehren- u. Rangprädikate*, p. 26 and n. 5.  
 3 πολιτευομένων. Senator, v. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, pp. 126 seqq.  
 9 πίπτει. According to W. Schmitz, *ή πίπτει in den Papyri* (Diss. Köln, 1964), p. 111, this expression is part of the bombastic Byzantine style and has no precise legal force.  
 11 επιχρέλας. W. J. T.  
 12 λούτρον. For Oxyrhynchite baths v. *Rend. Ist. Lomb.* lii (1919), pp. 300 seqq.  
 18 Space is too short for δ[ύο νομισμάτια, though an abbreviation would be possible, if the grammar can be carried on. The trace after the gap suits *a* or *ω* best.  
 20 παρόντων. W. J. T. Cf. 1899 26, 1957 22.  
 22 This is a notarial signature, illegible to me, in a tallish sloping and very densely cramped cursive.

Verso. The traces suit 'Αβραα[μ]ί[ου], rather than 'Αβραάμ, cf. *Самоу[н]ηλίου* in the same line, probably preceded by *έντάγιον* (or *χειρόγραφο*) *Αδρηλίω*.

## 2719. DIRECTIONS FOR DELIVERING LETTERS

11 x 16 cm.

Third century

There are some papyrus letters which have short instructions to the bearer actually written on them and entitled *σημασία* (1678 28, 1773 40, and presumably P. Meyer 30. 56—correcting *σημ[είω]ν* to *σημ[αεί]α*), but I believe that this is the first time that the instructions have survived independently of a letter and in such detail.

Rufus, the man to whom the letters were to be sent, seems to have lived in Hermopolis (l. 2 n.), but the directions were discarded in Oxyrhynchus, perhaps by the letter-carrier after he had finished with them; or perhaps Rufus himself sent this note to his friends in Oxyrhynchus, who instructed their messenger by word of mouth.

The handwriting is a clear cursive of the third century, perhaps from near the end of it. The margins survive on three sides, but a few letters are missing at the beginning of each line except the first.

↔ σημασία τῶν ἐπιστολῶν 'Ρούφου  
 ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς πύλης τῆς Ἀλεξανδρινῆς περι-  
 πά[τη]ρον ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ[τ] θησαυροῦς καὶ ἐὰν  
 θέλ[η]ς εἰς τὴν πρώτην ῥύμην ἀριστε-

5 ρῆ] κάμψον ὀπίσω τῶν θερμῶν οὐδ' α-  
 . . .] . ος καὶ ἔλθε εἰς τὸ λιβυς· κατάβα τὰ  
 κλι]μάκια καὶ τ[ . . .]α ἀνάβα καὶ κάμψον  
 δε]ξιᾶ[ν] καὶ μετ[ὰ τὸ] περίβολον τοῦ  
 . . .]ου ἐκ δεξιῶν οἰκία ἐπτάστεγός  
 10 ἐστ]ῆν καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ πυλῶν[ο]ς . . χη  
 καὶ] καταντικρὺ κυ[ρ]τοπλοκίον· αὐτοῦ  
 πυ]θοῦ ἢ τῆς θυρουρ[ο]ῦ καὶ μαρ[θ]ά-  
 νει]ς· βάλε δὲ φωνὴν εὐ ολους· ε[  
 . . .] ὑπακούει σοι ε . . . . . !απ . . εἰ  
 15 . . .] ἄζονται.

'Directions for letters to Rufus.

'From the Moon gate walk as if towards the granaries and, if you will, turn left at the first street behind the Thermae, where (there is) a . . . , and go westwards. Go down the steps and up . . . and turn right and after the precinct of the (temple) on the right there is a seven-storey house and on top of the gatehouse (a statue of Fortune?) and opposite a basket-weaving shop. Inquire there or from the concierge and you will be informed. And shout yourself . . . will answer you . . .'

2 Ἀλεξανδρινῆς. Probably in Hermopolis; cf. CPH 127 verso i 7, iii 6 (pp. 76 seqq.), where the form is the same. Alexandria had a gate called the *Ἀλεξανδρινή πύλη*, v. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi*, p. 147.

περι[πά]τηρον? Perhaps not the exact word, but for the sense of 'walk in a particular direction', as opposed to 'walk about', cf. BGU 380. 17 seqq. *γράφον μοι καὶ χαταβένω περι(τ)πατῶ μετὰ οὐδ' ἐὰν εὔρω*, *Acta Thomae*, ed. Bonnet, p. 87. 3 *περιπατησάντων δὲ μίλιον ἐν παρ- ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν τέσσαρσι στρατιώταις κτλ.*

6 . . .] . ος. The broken letter is an upright with a crossbar, i.e. τ or π. α[ . . .]τος or α[ . . .]τος. Perhaps ἀ[δ]υ[τ]ος, but ἀδυτον is far more frequently met.

εἰς τὸ λιβυς. Presumably the equivalent of *εἰς λίβα*, 'to the West'; read *Λίβυ*?

7 τ[ . . .]α. Perhaps τ[ὰ ἀλλ]α, meaning the steps on the other side of some depression.

9 . . .]ου. Supply *ἱερ*ουδ or something more specific, such as *Ἱερίου* = *Ἱερίου*.

ἐπτάστεγός. According to Luckhard, *Das Privathaus in Ägypten*, p. 40, the highest house known from the papyri is four storeys high. Diodorus (i 45) mentions houses of four and five storeys in Diospolis. This mention of a seven-storey house therefore adds something to our ideas of the appearance of a metropolis in Roman Egypt. My impression from the context is that it was more like a Roman tenement than a grand town house. Professor Turner suggests that it was 'a mud-brick house reared up against a pylon or wall of a temple . . . such as one still sees on ancient sites in Egypt'.

10 . . .] χη. Perhaps *Τύχη*, i.e. a statue of the goddess Fortune.

11 κυ[ρ]τοπλοκίον = -εἶον. This is a new word, cf. 520 20 *κυρτῶν πλεκτῶ(ν)*, 'plaited (? fish) baskets' (ed. pr.).

13 βάλε. In P. Mich. 220 (cf. Tabachovitz, *Études*, p. 56) *φωνὴν βάλλειν* appears not to refer to an audible communication and is translated by 'send word'. The most obvious way of taking it here is of a shout for admission followed by a response from inside, *ὑπακούειν* being used in its special technical sense of 'answer the door'.

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ολουc ι[. The missing letter is either ε or δ. If it is ε, perhaps δ Λούcει[oc | δέ] ὑπακούει σοι would do, and Lusius seems plausible in company with Rufus. δλουc δι[ι, on the other hand, gives me no ideas.

14 ε . . . . . ιαπ . . . . . ει. My impression is ε, ι (descender), ε (horizontal, cap. ?), τ (or part of π ?), α (very doubtful, ρ ?), π (or γ . or τ .), 2 or 3 characterless traces, ι, α, π, ρ or α, ι characterless trace, ει. εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ?

15 ] . . . . . άζονται. The trace is the end of a horizontal at mid-letter level, e.g. γ, ε, θ, λ, π, c, τ, υ, χ, ψ.

2720. SALE OF HOUSE

22 x 18.4 cm.

A.D. 41/54

This sheet contains two related documents, written by the same hand : 10-24 a deed of sale, 1-9 a bank-receipt for the sales-tax. Compare 99 (where the receipt comes second) and 577 (the sale only). The form is a Ptolemaic survival ; so too are the additional charges mentioned in 8-9.

1 Τ]ιβερίου Κλαυδίου καίσαρος σεβ[αστοῦ Γερμα]νικοῦ αὐτοκ[ράτορος  
μηνός καισαρείου ἡ σεβαστῆι  
2 δι]ὰ τῆς ἐν Ὁξυρύνχων πόλει τραπέ[ζης ἐφ' ἧς . . .] λέμων κα[ὶ  
μέτοχοι τέτακται Θάιc Ἀμεινέωc μετὰ  
3 κ]υρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρὸc Θωώνιοc το[ῦ] . . . . .] . τέλος τοῦ  
ὑ[πάρχοντοc αὐτῆι δωδεκάτου  
4 μ]έρουc οἰκίας διςτέγου ὑφ' ἧν ἔcτιν κ[ατάγαιον] καὶ τῆc εἰc[όδου  
καὶ ἐξόδου (?) καὶ τῶν  
5 συ]κυρό[ντων] κοινῶν καὶ ἀδιαιρέτ[ων] πρό[σ] τε τὴν [ῶ]νουμένην καὶ  
α . [ . . . . . τῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῦ πρόc  
6 Ὁξυρύν]χων πόλει Cαραπείου ἐν ρύμηι αξ[α] . . [ . . ] . [ . . ] εγ . . . υ[ . . ] οὐ ἐπρίατο  
πα[ρὰ] τοῦ τῆc ἀδελφῆc αὐτῆc  
7 Ἡρακλ]οῦτοc υἱοῦ Ἀτρέουc τοῦ Ἀτρέουc κατὰ ἀγορανομικὸν χρηματικὸν  
χα[λκοῦ] ±10 letters χαλκοῦ  
8 ] πρόc ἀργύ[ριον] πεντακισχιλίας τετρα[κ]οσίας (γίνονται) [χα]λκ(οῦ) πρό[σ]  
ἀργ[ύριον] Ἐυ ἐπιδεκ . [ ±15 letters  
9 κ]αταγωγίωι δραχμαὶ δύο ὀβολὸc ἱμοβέλι[ο]ν [ . . . ] κ[ατ]αγωγίωι (δρ.)  
β—c [ . . . ]  
10 ]του Τιβερί]ου Κλαυδίου καίσαρος σεβ[αστοῦ] Γερ[μανικοῦ] α]ὐ[τοκ]ράτορ[οc]  
11 μην]ός κα[ὶ] σεβ[αστοῦ] ἡ σεβαστῆι [ἐν] Ὁξυρύν]χων πόλει τῆc Θηβαίδ[οc]  
ἐπ' ἀγορανόμων ±15 letters

2720. SALE OF HOUSE

113

12 ] . . . [ἐπ]ρία[το] Θάιc Ἀμεινέωc ὡc (ἐτῶν) λβ[ . . . ] . [ . . ] . μέcηι [ . . . ]  
±25 letters  
13 μ]ε]τὰ κ]υ[ρ]ί[ο]υ το[ῦ] ἑαυτῆc ἀνδρὸc Θωώνιο[σ] το[ῦ] . [ . ] . ὡc [ . . . ]  
(ἐτῶν) μβ μέ[σ]ου ±20 letters  
14 ]α . αφρ . ν ἀριστερὰν παρὰ τοῦ τῆc ἀδελφῆ[σ] αὐτ[ῆ]c Ἡ]ρακλοῦτοc υ[ἱ]οῦ  
Ἀτρέουc τοῦ Ἀτρέουc  
15 ]ὡc (ἐτῶν) ιη μέcου μελίχρωι μακροπροσώπου οὐλλῆ[ι] μηγῶι ἀριτ[ε]ραῶι  
±25 letters  
16 ] δωδέκατον μέρος οἰκίας διςτέγου ὑφ' ἧ[ν] ἔcτιν κ[α]τάγαιον [καὶ τῆc  
εἰcόδου καὶ ἐξόδου (?) καὶ  
17 ] τῶν συ]κυρόντων κοινῶν καὶ ἀδιαι[ρ]έτω[ν] πρόc τε τὴν ὶ[νου]-  
μεν . . . . [ ±20 letters  
18 ] ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῦ πρόc Ὁξυρύνχων πόλει Cαραπεί[ο]υ [ἐν ρύ]μηι αξα-  
[ . . . . . ] γέιτονεc τῆc ὄληc  
19 οἰκί]αc καὶ [το]ῦ καταγαιίου ν[ό]του εἰcοδοc καὶ ἐξοδοc τῆc Cωτάδου  
οἰκί]αc ±20 letters  
20 ] . [ . . ] λιβὸc Ὠρου γερδιῦ ἀπηλιώτου δημοσία ρ[ύ]μηι χαλκοῦ ταλ[άντων]  
±20 letters  
21 π]επρακῶc τὸ [σ]ημαινόμενον δωδέκατον μέ[ροc] τῆc οἰκίας . [ ±25  
letters ἀπό  
22 πά]ντων πάcηι βεβαιώcε[ι] ἐν ἀγυιᾶ[ι] τ]ῆι α[ὐτῆ]ι  
23 ] . ορc . [ . . . ] . [ . . ] ν[ . . ] β[ε] . [ . . . ] . . . . δ[ . . . ] . [ . . . ]  
24 ] . . [ . . . ] . . . . .

(Year . . .) of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, 8th of the month Caesareus, dies augusta, through the bank in Oxyrhynchus of which . . . lemon and his partners are head. Thais daughter of Amenneus, under the guardianship of her husband Thoonis son of . . ., has paid in respect of a property of hers—a twelfth share of a two-storey house, under which is a cellar, and of the entrance . . . and the appurtenances, held in common and indivisibly by the purchaser and (others? . . .), located at the Serapeum in Oxyrhynchus in the street (known as) the street of Ax . . ., which house-share she bought from the son of her sister Heraclous, Hatres son of Hatres, by a transaction before the agoranomoi, for (9 talents) of bronze—five thousand four hundred dr. in tax, bronze for silver, making 5,400, bronze for silver ; a surcharge of one tenth . . . ; with transport charge two drachmae one obol one half-obol, (making ? . . .) transport charge 2 dr. 1½ ob.

(Year . . .) of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, month Caesareus 8, dies augusta, at Oxyrhynchus in the Thebaid, before . . ., agoranomi : Thais, daughter of Amenneus, age about 32 years . . ., acting under the guardian-

ship of her own husband Thoonis son of . . . , age about 42 years, middle height . . . —bought from her sister Heraclous' son Hatres son of Hatres, age about 18 years, middle height, honey-coloured, long-faced, with a scar on the left thigh . . . a twelfth share of a two-storey house, beneath which is a cellar, and of the entrance and exit and the appurtenances, held in common and indivisibly by the purchaser . . . located at the Serapeum in Oxyrhynchus in the street (known as) the street of Axa . . . ; neighbours of the whole house and cellar—on the south the entrance and exit of Sotades' house . . . on the west (property) of Horus the weaver, on the east a public street: (price) . . . talents bronze . . . and the seller shall guarantee the stated twelfth share of the house . . . from everything by every kind of guarantee, in the street aforementioned . . .'

2 ] λειμων: presumably Πηλέμων (though Τηλέμων is not palaeographically excluded). This bank is not registered by Calderini, *Aeg.* 18 (1938), pp. 260 ff.

3 τρ[θ]: τρ[θ] Θεώνιος could be read here, and τρ[θ] Θ[ο]ώνιος in 13.

5 και α. [: perhaps και ἀλλ[ους], cf. P. Mich. v 269. 2-3 κ. και α. πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν πριάμενον . . . και ἐτέρους. Neither ἀπο[ nor τρη[ can be read.

6 αξ[α] . . . [ . . . ] . . . ]: [λ]εγγόμεν[η] is a possible reading of the second part. The beginning was presumably Αξ[α] . . . ] . . . ], a proper name in the genitive (αξ[α] 18): notice Axapes, *basilicogrammateus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome in the mid-third century B.C. (P. Mich. Zeno 82, introd.).

7-9 The normal rate of sales-tax for the time and place was 10% (Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 448 n. 60): hence the price of the property will have been exactly 9 talents copper. The tax was paid in copper instead of in silver, and so became liable to a surcharge of 10% (540 dr. copper) and a transport charge of 2 dr. 1½ ob. (1/2400 of the original tax).

8 επιδεκ[ι]: again in 99 19. Wallace has some very dubious further speculations, *Taxation*, p. 228. Here the charge was clearly an agio. The phrase χαλκοῦ πρὸς ἀργύριον recurs in Oxyrhynchite texts of the later first century (49, 50, 242, 243, 333), but there no additional charge is specified or deducible: the words may have become a meaningless convention. The justification for such a charge had in any case disappeared much earlier: Milne, *JEA* 11 (1925), p. 269.

9 κ[α]τ[α]γωγίωι: Préaux, *L'Économie royale*, p. 335: a charge for transporting the bulky copper coinage. It appears in obscure circumstances in two other early Roman documents: Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 43 and 325; Schuman, *Cd'É* 38 (1963), p. 315.

10-11 If the supplements in 16 and 18 are right, the lines of this section had ± 75 letters, like those of the first section. But nothing seems to be missing between αὐτοκράτορος and μηνός.

11 ἡ σεβαστηῆ: add Mesore 8 to Snyder's list, *Aeg.* 44 (1964), p. 161. The 8th was the anniversary of Claudius' birth.

14 αφρ. ν: presumably ὄφρων was intended, but I cannot read it.

20-1 A detached fragment has letters from two lines; the second reads ] βαι[, and perhaps belongs to 20, giving τ[α]λ[άντων] ἐννεά . . . ] β[ε]βαι[ώ]σει δὲ ὁ π[ε]πρακ[ώ]ς (cf. 99). After οἰκίας in 21, the top of an upright with backhook: probably κ[α]ὶ τοῦ καταγαίου. The end of 22 is apparently blank; 23 then begins a new clause—probably the names of the *agoranomi* who conducted the transaction.

## 2721. WORK CONTRACT FOR ENTERTAINERS

6.5 × 23.5 cm.

10th Oct., A.D. 234

By this contract the representatives of the men of an Oxyrhynchite village hired flautists and a dancing girl to entertain them for the four days of a festival. This type of document is now well known and the previous examples are conveniently collected in M. Vandoni, *Feste pubbliche e private*, Nos. 14-28 (add P. Alex. 6, P. Strasb. 341 in *Bull. de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg*, Nov. 1966, p. 232).

ὄμο[λο]γοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις Αὐρήλιοι Πτολ-  
λίων Βαρβάρου καὶ Ἑρᾶς Ἑρᾶτος ἀμφότ[ε]-  
ρ[ο]ι προστάται ἀνδρῶν εὐωχομένων  
ἐν κώμῃ Νεσμείμυ καὶ Ἀντίνοος Ἑρ-  
5 μίου πρωταύλης καὶ προεστῶς ἐπὶ τρῶ-  
το αὐ[τ]ητῶν τριῶν κ[α]ὶ κρη[τ]αλιστρίας  
μῆας, οἱ μὲν περὶ Πτολλίωνα παρει-  
ληφέναι τὸν Ἀντίνοον σὺν πάσ[η]  
τῇ συμφωνίᾳ λειτουργήσοντα τοῖς  
10 θαλε[ρ]ομένοις ἀνδράσι ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑορ-  
τῶν τέσσαρας ἀπὸ ἐνδεκάτης τοῦ ἐ-  
ξῆς μηνός Ἀθύρ τ[ο]ῦ ἐνεστῶτος (ἔτους) —  
μισθοῦ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας δραχμῶν  
πεντήκοντα καὶ ἄρτων ζευγῶν  
15 δώ[δ]εκα ἐλέου ῥαφανίου κοτυλῶν  
δύ[ο] χωρὶς τοῦ χωροῦντ[ο]ς εἰς τὴν  
λαμπάδα καὶ μερικοῦ ἐνός καὶ τῆς  
συνήθους ὑπηρεσίας καὶ ὄλων τῶν  
ἡμερῶν οἴνου κεραμίου ἐνός, πάντω(ν)  
20 ὄντων καθαρῶν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν μισθῶ(ν)  
αὐτόθι ἔσχεν ὁ Ἀντίνοος εἰς λό-  
γον ἀρραβῶνος δραχμὰς εἴκοσι καὶ  
τοῦτον ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις παραλήμ-  
ψονται χωρὶς θεοῦ βίας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξυ-  
25 ρυνχείτου διὰ ὄνων τριῶν καὶ ἀπο-  
καταστήσουσι εἰς τὴν κώμην καὶ



πα[ρ]έξονται αὐτοῖς καὶ ξενίαν  
 ἀσφαλῆ[ν] καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστον  
 καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τέσσαρας  
 30 πληρώσαντες αὐτοὺς πᾶσι τοῖς μι-  
 θοῖς καὶ ἐκτάκτοι[ς] πᾶσι ἀριθμῶ  
 πλ[ή]ρη ἐπάναγ' κ[ο]ν ἀποκαταστή-  
 ρουσι τῇ ἰε' εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν Ὀξυρυν-  
 χεῖτην διὰ τῶν ἴσων ὄνων  
 35 τριῶν ὑγιῶς καὶ πιετώς· ὁ δὲ Ἀν-  
 τίνος εὐδοκί πᾶσι τοῖς προκει-  
 μένοις· κύριον τὸ ὁμολόγημα δις-  
 ζῶν γραφέν· (ἔτους) ιδ'  
 Αὐ[το]κράτορος Καίσαρος  
 40 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουή[ρο]ν  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς  
 σεβ[ασ]τοῦ· Φαῶφι γ'  
 (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίνος εὐδοκῶ  
 πᾶσι τοῖς προκειμέν[οις].

'There contract with one another Aurelius Ptolion, son of Barbarus, and Aurelius Heras, son of Heras, both presidents of the men of the village of Nesmeimis, who are celebrating a festival, and Antinous, son of Hermias, first flute and supervisor for this occasion, of three flute-players and one castanet dancer, Ptolion's party that they have taken on Antinous and the whole band to do service for the men who are having a feast for four days of festival from the eleventh of the ensuing month of Hathyr of the present year, at a daily rate of fifty drachmae, twelve pairs of loaves, two kotylai of radish-oil apart from what goes to the lamp, one segmented loaf (?), the usual service, and every day one keramion of wine all free from encumbrances. And from the hire money Antinous has received on the spot by way of earnest money twenty drachmae and they will transport him and the others, act of God apart, from the Oxyrhynchite nome with three donkeys and will transport them to the village and will provide for them also safe and undisturbed lodging and after the four days having satisfied them with all the hire money and the separate deliveries in kind all to the full amount they will necessarily transport them on the fifteenth to the same Oxyrhynchite nome with the equal number of three donkeys truly and faithfully. And Antinous consents to all the foregoing. The agreement, written in two copies, is valid. In the fourteenth year of the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, Pius, Felix, Augustus, Phaophi 13th.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Antinous, consent to all the foregoing.'

3 προστάται. Cf. San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen*, ii, p. 59.

5 πρωταύλης. Cf. *SIG* 1257. This word should be recognized also in P. Lond. 331. 1 (vol. ii, pp. 354-5—extended *πρω(νοση)τ(η) αὐλη(τρίδων)*), because there is a 'Verschleifung' at the end and the large τ in the middle suggests an abbreviation, v. Plates, vol. ii, no. 65); so

probably in P. Gen. 73. 1 (Παμουθις ρ... τουλη... ed. pr., Παμουθις [L.], τουλη[ ] W. Chr. 496, π[ρ]ο(νοση)τ(η)ς αὐλη(τρίδων) Vandoni, no. 19); and so possibly in P. Grenf. ii 67. 1 (πρωνοση( ) γυμ( ) ed. pr., πρωνοση( ) αυλ( ) Kenyon), but cf. Vandoni, no. 24. 1 *πρωνοσητῆ μουσικῶν*.

This last document has been republished as P. Med. 47 with a plate (XVIII), which allows some corrections to be made, see *Cd'É* 42 (1967), p. 225, and add for l. 14 [καί] ὑπὲρ επονδῆς.

6 Above the λ of α[ὐ]λητῶν there appears to be some interlinear addition. It is obscured by the descender of the ρ of πρωταύλης above and some of it seems to have been lost in the preceding gap. The surviving trace might be a ν, which rather suggests [τῶ]ν, but I do not see why that should have been added.

7 παρειληφέναι. This is the characteristic term in these contracts, cf. Vandoni, nos. 15. 4, 16. 4, 17. 4, 20. 4, 21. 9, 24. 5. Therefore in P. Alex. 6. 13 παραλαβῶν governs αὐλητάς (16), and that document is one of this type. [τῆν παραθήκην in the earlier part of l. 13 does not seem to be justified by the photograph (Pl. III), though I am unable to read the remains satisfactorily.

10 θαλε[αζ]ομένοις: 1. θαλιαζομένοις, not in *WB*. [αζ] is crowded, but I know of no alternative.

10 seqq. The details are reminiscent of the festival of Isis, which also lasted for four days of Hathyr, but the dates of the Isieia are given as Hathyr 17-20 (v. Merkelbach, *Isisfeste*, p. 35).

12 The usual ∟-shaped sign for ἔτους is followed by a horizontal stroke above the letter level, but there seems not to be a trace of ιδ or room for it.

17 λαμπάδα. Since there was a possibility that the entertainers would have to pay for oil supplied to this lamp, I suppose it is more likely to have been their own theatrical lighting than village property.

μερκοῦ. The context of 1655 7 suggests some sort of bread—a 'segmented loaf', says ed. pr.; according to Schmidt, *GGA* (1922), pp. 103 seq., it may represent ἐμμερκοῦ from Coptic *εμραι*, 'flour, wheat'.

24 χωρὶς θεοῦ βίας. Cf. 144 11 (of A.D. 580) *δίχα θ. β.*; v. Modica, *Papirologia giuridica*, p. 200, for legal references. It is evidently nothing to do with the legislation of Justinian, as Mitteis thought.

ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀξυρυνχείτου. The same phrasing occurs in 1275 25, where the meaning is discussed in a note and it is doubtfully taken to be 'from the metropolis'. Nesmeimis here, like Souis there, is inside the Oxyrhynchite nome. It may mean that transport will be arranged from anywhere within the nome. Transport in both directions is regularly provided by these contracts, but good business must occasionally have required the entertainers to go straight from one engagement to the next without a return to their base. The base was presumably in Oxyrhynchus, since the papyrus was dug up there.

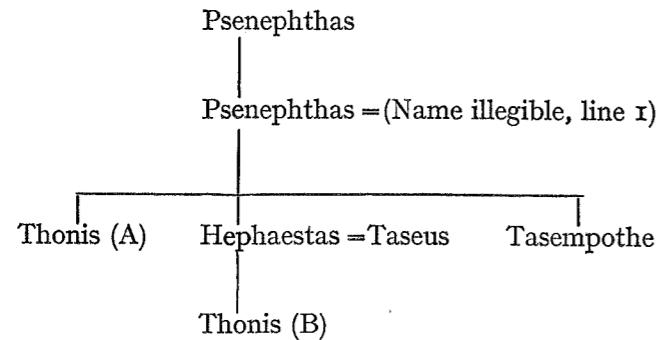
25 ὄνων τριῶν. It seems to be implied that they rode the donkeys, but there were four of them at least, and five if Antinous was a leader with three subordinates rather than chief of three. The same problem arises in P. Lond. ii 331 (pp. 154-5), where four donkeys sufficed for eight entertainers. In that contract four of the entertainers were girl dancers. Could it be that in these cases the women had to walk? In other cases there seem to have been enough donkeys for all unless the amount of baggage was very great, v. Westermann. 'The Castanet Dancers of Arsinoe', *JEA* x (1922), p. 140.

## 2722. MORTGAGE CONTRACT

13 x 26 cm.

30th March, A.D. 154

This straightforward contract is a mortgage between the two persons called Thonis in the genealogical table below.



Thonis (A) acknowledges a loan of 600 drachmae from Thonis (B) on a three-year term and for its return pledges shares in a house which he holds in common with his brother Hephaestas and his sister Tasempothe.

An interesting detail is the new title of *πυραιθης* which both parties possess as priests of Athena Thoeris. The nearest parallel is *πύραιθος*, which Strabo applies to Persian fire-worshippers (733). Since the family names allude to the god of fire, as Ptah and Hephaestus, it seems quite likely that the title was hereditary. The connection of Thoeris with Ptah is rare, but there is a Ptolemaic inscription in which she is called 'beloved of Ptah', *v. Roscher* v 888.

↔

αθας

Θώνις Ψεμφθᾶτος τοῦ Ψεμφθᾶτος μ[η]τρὸς .....  
 ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως πυραιθης Ἀθηναῖς Θεήριδο[ς] θεᾶς  
 μεγίστης Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς τῷ ἑμαυτοῦ ἀδ[ε]λφιδ[ῶ] Θώνει  
 5 Ἐφαιστᾶτος τοῦ Ψεμφθᾶτος μητρὸς Τασεῦτος ἀ[π]ὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 πόλεως πυραιθης τῆς αὐτῆς θεοῦ χαίρειν· ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν  
 παρὰ σοῦ διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει Σαραπίου  
 Ἰέρακος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπιτηρητῶν τραπέζης ἑπακρολ[ο]υ-  
 θούντος Μαρτιάλλις ὑπόσχεσιν δεδωκότος ἀργυρίου  
 10 σεβαστοῦ νομίματος δραχμᾶς ἑξακοσίας γείνονται ἀργυρίου  
 δραχμᾶι ἑξακόσια κεφαλαίου αἷς οὐδὲν τῷ καθόλου προσήκται

τόκου δραχμιαίου ἑκάστης μῆνας κατὰ μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶ-  
 τος μηνὸς Φαρμούθι καὶ ἐπάναγκον ἀποδώ[ς] σοι τὸν μὲν  
 τόκον κατὰ μῆνα τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τριακάδι Φαμενώθ  
 15 τοῦ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου χωρὶς  
 πάσης ὑπερθέσεως· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶ καθὰ γέγραπται συν-  
 χωρῶ μένειν περὶ σὲ τὸν Θῶνιν Ἐφαιστᾶτος καὶ ἐγγόνους  
 καὶ τοὺς παρὰ σοῦ μεταλημφομένους ἀνθ' οὗ ἐὰν μὴ ἀποδῶ  
 μετὰ τὴν προθεσίαν τὴν κράτησιν καὶ κυρείαν εἰς τὸν  
 20 αἰὲ χρόνον τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων μοι μερῶν πάντων κοινῇ  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου Τασεμπώθην καὶ τὸν πατέρα σ[ο]υ  
 Ἐφαιστᾶν ἐπ' ἀμφοδου Δεκάτης ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ λιβὸς μέρεσι ἐν  
 ῥύμη τυφλῆ οἰκίας καὶ αἰθρίου καὶ χρηστηρίων καὶ εἰσόδων  
 καὶ ἐξόδων ὧν ὄλων γείτονας νότου Σαραπίωνος βορ(ρ)ᾶ εἴκοδος  
 25 ἀπηλιώτου Ἀπιος λιβὸς ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τάξασθαι σὲ  
 διὰ σεαυτοῦ ἐὰν αἰρῆ τὰ ὑπὲρ τούτων τέλη καὶ δεσπόζ(ε)ιν  
 αὐτῶν ὡς ἂν πράσεύς σοι γενομένης καὶ τὰ περιεσόμενα  
 ἀποφέρεσθαι καὶ ἑτέροις πωλεῖν καὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἂν αἰρῆ  
 μηδεμιᾶς μοι ἐφόδου καταλειπομένης ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπάναγκον  
 30 παρέξομέ σοι καὶ τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη τῶν ἐγγένων διὰ  
 παντὸς βέβαια ἀπὸ πάντων πάσι βεβαιώ(ε)ι καὶ καθαρὰ  
 ἀπὸ ἀπογραφῆς πάσης καὶ ἀπὸ γεωργίας βασιλικῆς καὶ  
 οὐσιακῆς καὶ παντὸς εἴδους καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν  
 ἄλλου καὶ μέχρι ἀποδόσεως οὐκ ἔξεσται μοι τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη  
 35 τῶν ἐγγείων οὐδὲ μέρος πωλεῖν οὐδὲ ὑποτίθεσθαι οὐ-  
 δ' ἄλλως καταχρηματίζω κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον οὐδὲ ἀπο-  
 γράφεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἢ πᾶν τὸ ὑπεναντίως πρα-  
 χθησόμενον ἄκυρον εἶναι ἐξόντος σοι διὰ σεαυτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 νῦν ὅποταν αἰρῆ κατοχὴν τούτων ποιήσασθαι διὰ τῆς τῶν  
 40 ἐνχρησεων βιβλιοθήκης ἄχρι ἀποδῶ σοι τὸ κεφάλαιον  
 καὶ τοὺς τόκους, αἰρέσεως καὶ ἐγλογῆς οὐσης περὶ σὲ τὸν  
 Θῶνιν Ἐφαιστᾶτος ἐὰν βούλη μετὰ τὸν χρόνον μὴ δι-  
 καιοπραγ[μ]ουμένου μοι τῷ κεφαλαίῳ καὶ τόκοις κυρι-  
 εῦεν ἀντὶ τούτων τῶν αὐτῶν μερῶν τῆς οἰκίας  
 45 ἐπὶ τοῖς προκειμένοις ἢ τὴν πράξιν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ τε  
 αὐτοῦ κεφαλαίου καὶ τῶν ὀνομασμένων καὶ τοῦ ὑπερ-



topografico delle banche', *Aegyptus* xxxviii, pp. 244 ff., among the managers of the well-known bank at the Serapeum.

9 ὑπόσχεσιν δεδικότος. Cf. 91 11 (τραπέζης) ἥς ὑπόσχεσις ἐδόθη ὑπὸ Ἐπιμάχου. The translation of 91 both in the ed. pr. and in Sel. Pap. i, no. 79—'for which E. issued the promise of payment'—is obscure and misleading. Preisigke (*WB* s.v.) understood it correctly as a bid made for the banking concession.

Verso. The way the endorsement is set out seems to imply the order χ(ειρὸν)ρ(αφον) (Τα)?*σενπώθου ἀδελφοῦ Ἐώνιος Ἡφαιστᾶτος διὰ τραπέζης ἐφ' ὑποθήκη μερῶν οἰκιῶν (sic)*, and this seems to be completely wild. οἰκιῶν is certainly wrong; Τα- in Τα*σενπώθην* (21, 63) is almost certainly the Egyptian feminine article, implying a woman's name, and there is no difficulty in translating ἀδελφούς (21, 62) as 'sibs', v. LSJ. What one seems to require is χ(ειρὸν)ρ(αφον) Ἐώνιος ἀδελφοῦ (Τα)*σενπώθ(ης) (καὶ) Ἡφαιστᾶτος διὰ τραπέζης ἐφ' ὑποθήκη μερῶν οἰκί(ας)*. However, I have not discovered the name Τα*σενπώθ*- elsewhere and there does remain the possibility that it is masculine.

2723. SALE OF VINEYARD, ETC.

30 x 22 cm.

Third century

Aurelia Apollonia sells a vineyard and its appurtenances; ownership passes to L. Calpurnius Firmus, a minor, whose father Gaius makes the contract and pays over the price. The contract takes the form of a *synchoresis*—both parties were citizens of Alexandria, with landed interests near Oxyrhynchus. This copy was never finished: there are two blanks in the text (lines 14 and 16), and the normal address formula is missing before line 1 (the upper margin of 5 cm. gives room for it). Presumably a draft or a duplicate.

The formulae are for the most part familiar: see for example 1276, 1697–1700, especially 1208. Interesting difficulties remain in 13–14 and 18.

παρὰ Λουκίου Καλπουρνίου Γαίου καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει γενομένου εὐθηνιάρχου καὶ κοσμητοῦ βουλευτοῦ τῆς λαμπροτάτης πό-  
 λ{ο}εως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων γυμνασιάρχου ἐνάρχου πρυτάνεως τῆς Ὀξυρρυχειτῶν πόλεως καὶ παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἀπολλωνί-  
 ας τῆς καὶ Ἀρποκρατιάνης Προυπλίου ἀστῆς ὡς ἐν Πτολεμαίδι τῆς ἐν Θηβαίδι τὸ πρὶν χρηματιζούσης Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς  
 καὶ Ἀρποκρατιάνης Π[ο]υπλίου μητρὸς Ἀπολλωνίας ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδομένου αὐτῇ κατὰ τὰ Ῥω-  
 5 μαίων ἔθῃ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ καὶ Γεμεινᾶ καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ταύτης υἱοῦ

συνχω-

ροῦσι ἢ μὲν Αὐρηλία Ἀπολλωνία ἢ καὶ Ἀρποκρατίανα καταγεγραφέναι τῷ τοῦ Καλπουρνίου Γαίου [ἀ]φήλικι υἱῷ Λουκίῳ Καλπουρνίῳ

Φίρμῳ τὸ ὑπάρχον αὐτ[ῆ] περὶ κώμην  
 Κοῦν τῆς κάτω τοπαρχίας τοῦ Ὀ[ξυ]ρρυχειτοῦ νομοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου κλήρου ἀμπελικὸν κτῆμα κ[α]ὶ καλαμείαν  
 ὃν ἐν ἀμελείᾳ καὶ τὰ ὄντα οἰκόπεδα καὶ ληνὸν καὶ πίθον καὶ στεμφυλοργικὸν ὄργανον καὶ τὰ προσόντα ὑδρεύματα σὺν τῇ  
 10 ἐπικειμένη τούτοις μηχανῇ [ἐ]ξηρητικμ[έ]νη πάσῃ ξυλικῇ καταρτ[ί]α καὶ σιδηρώσι καὶ τὰ τούτων χρηστήρια καὶ ἀνήκον-  
 τα καὶ συνκύροντα πάντα ἀρουρῶν ἕνδεκα ἡμίτους τετάρτου ἢ ὅσων ἐὰν ᾖ σ[ὺν] τοῖς ἐν αὐτ[ο]ῖς καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν φοίνιξι  
 καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ ἀκροδρῦ[ο]ις πᾶσι τῶν [δὲ ὄ]λων γείτονες λιβὸς πλευρισμ[ό]ς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τριῶν ἀνέμων τοῦ Καλπουρ-  
 νίου Γαίου καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο υπ : . . . . . ; εἶναι ἐαυτῇ τὴν Αὐρηλί[αν] Ἀπολλωνίαν [τ]ῆν καὶ Ἀρποκρατίαναν ἐπὶ τῆς : . . . : εἰμε-  
 . . . . . ] . . . . . ασομ ; [ . . . . ] [ . . . . . ] : . . . . . κα]ταγραφῆ· ἐὰν δε . [ ] ν ὑπολελι[μ]μ[έ]νον καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι [τ]οῦ ὠνούμενου  
 15 ±33 letters ] τῶν προκειμ[έν]ων σφάσε καὶ καλαμείας ἀρουρῶν ἕνδε[κα ἡμί]τους τετάρ-  
 του ± 30 letters ] . . . ν ἀργυρίου σεβαστοῦ νομίμα-  
 τος δραχμὰς μυρι σφάσε ±35 letters ] αὐτόθι ἀπέσχευ ἢ [Αὐρηλία] Ἀπολλωνία ἢ καὶ Ἀρποκρατίανα πα[ρὰ τ]οῦ Καλπουρ-  
 νίου Γαίου ±20 letters ] . [ . ] . σθεν προφέρε[ ] ; [ . . . ] εσθαι τῷ αὐτῷ ὠνούμενῳ ἀφ[ή]λικι αὐτοῦ υἱῷ  
 ±33 letters ] . . . ; διὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν κ[ρατεῖν] καὶ κ[υριεῖν] τὸν αὐτὸν ὠνούμενον Καλπουρνιον Φίρ-  
 20 μον σὺν ἐγγόνιοις καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ μετα]λημψ[ο]μένοις [τοῦ καταγραφ]ομένου αὐτῷ ὡς πρόκειται[ι ἀμπελικοῦ] κτῆμα-  
 [τος ±30 letters ] ν καὶ ἡλικί[α]ς γεν[όμενον] χρᾶσθαι κ[αὶ] [οἶκον]ομεῖν . [ . . . . . ] ὡς ἐὰν αἰρή-  
 ται· ὃ καὶ βέβαιον παρέξεται ἢ Αὐρηλία Ἀπολλωνία ἢ καὶ Ἀρποκρ[ατίανα] διὰ παντός] ἀπὸ πάν[των] πάσ[ῃ] βεβα[ι]ώσε[ι]  
 καὶ καθαρὸν ἀπὸ γεωργίας βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐσια]κεῆς γῆς καὶ [  
 ]φανη ἐξ[α]  
 ]εργασι[  
 25 . . . . .

3. πτολεμαῖδι, θηβαῖδι. κ of και corrected. 5. ἴου. 6. The point at which this indented line should begin is marked by a short oblique stroke. 7. γαῖου. 8. κοῦν.  
9. ὑδρ-. 11. αυτ[ο]ς: not αυτη[ς]. 13. γαῖου, ὑπ-.

'From Lucius Calpurnius Gaius and however he is styled, senator, and formerly *eutheniarch* and *cosmete*, of the most illustrious city of the Alexandrians, *gymnasiarch* and *prytanis-in-office* of the city of the Oxyrhynchites,

'And from Aurelia Apollonia also called Harpocratiaena, daughter of Publius, citizeness, as of Ptolemas-in-the-Thebaid formerly styled Apollonia also called Harpocratiaena daughter of Publius, mother Apollonia, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, acting with the guardian assigned to her according to the customs of the Romans, Marcus Aurelius Ammonius also called Geminas, and however he is styled, and from her son:

'They agree, Aurelia Apollonia also called Harpocratiaena that she has made conveyance to Calpurnius Gaius' son Lucius Calpurnius Firmus, a minor, of property she owns near the village of Souis in the lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, part of the estate of Aristodemus—a vineyard with reed-bed, in a state of neglect, and the sites there and the winepress and cask and squeezing machine and the irrigation works appurtenant with the apparatus attached to them, apparatus fitted out with complete wooden fittings and iron-work, and the equipment for these, and everything belonging and appertaining—eleven and three-quarters arourae or whatever the area may be—with the palm trees in it and around it and all the shoots and fruits. Adjoining all this: on the west a depression; and on the other three sides, land of Calpurnius Gaius. And that Aurelia Apollonia also called Harpocratiaena has (retained?) nothing for herself on the aforementioned . . . and if anything . . . remaining, this too belongs to the purchaser . . . (price) of the aforementioned (*blank*) and reed-bed, eleven and three-quarter arourae . . . silver of the imperial coinage drachmae (*blank*) thousand . . . (which) Aurelia Apollonia also called Harpocratiaena has received on the spot from Calpurnius Gaius . . . (a sum which) he states to be given as a gift (?) to the abovementioned purchaser his minor son . . . Wherefore the abovementioned purchaser Calpurnius Firmus, with his children and his successors, shall from the present moment own and possess the vineyard conveyed to him as above . . . and when he reaches his majority administer and use it as he chooses. Which land Aurelia Apollonia also called Harpocratiaena shall guarantee throughout from everything with every kind of guarantee and free from liability to the cultivation of royal and domain land . . .'

1 Λουκίου Καλπουρνίου Γαίου, 7 Λουκίω Καλπουρνίω Φίρμω: the same family (Alexandrians with estates at Oxyrhynchus) appears in other third-century documents: PSI 1252: Aurelius Calpurnius Firmus, former *cosmete* and *eutheniarch* of Alexandria; PSI 1255: Calpurnius Firmus, former *cosmete*, *antarchidicast* and . . . of Alexandria; PSI 1256: Lucius Calpurnius Firmus. The third of these might well be our Firmus; so might the second, if he is not too early (the document mentions an Aur. Horion who is otherwise attested in A.D. 202 and 209). Gaius' purchase removed an enclave in his existing estates (lines 12-13).

3 ἀετης: citizeness of Alexandria, the normal meaning of the word (the contrary instances are textually doubtful: Arangio-Ruiz, *Rev. int. des Droits d'Ant.* 4 (1950), pp. 1 seqq.). The formula contrasts her official style at Alexandria with her style earlier at Ptolemas: there is a similar phrase at M. Chr. 299. 2, which should be similarly interpreted (P. Merton i 5. 2, note). For the change of style compare, e.g., P. Baden 72, where Psenamounis acquires Roman citizenship by military service. Harpocratiaena seems to have acquired both Alexandrian and Roman citizenship since her days in Ptolemas: Roman citizenship by the Constitutio Antoniniana, presumably.

9 στεμφυλοργικόν: again P. Oslo iii 145. 3.  
13 υπ . . . ειναι: the same formula in PSI 1255. 10-11 άλλο υ[ . . . ]κεναι εαντοις [ε]κ του αυτοῦ κληρον το μη υποστελλον τη εις αυτον καταγραφη. I cannot read ὑπολελοιπέναι. In 13-14 e.g. προκειμε[νης] . . . ] γιας ο μη υπ[ρο]στέλλει (though the first π is curiously narrow).  
15 ] . . . : e.g. τιμη[ς] (not ]ου). After προκειμ[έν]ων there is a blank of c. 11 letters; after μωρι in 16 a blank of c. 20 letters. In 16 no doubt the exact sum was to be inserted later. But why the gap in 15? The property is fully described elsewhere in the document.—In 6 the indentation leaves room for the name of Apollonia's son.

17 αὐτόθι ἀπέχον: different constructions might stand in the supplement, see, e.g., 1699 8 and 1700 5.

18-19 The general sense of this clause is clear: the father must state explicitly that the money paid over for the land is a present from him to his son (otherwise he himself becomes the legal owner of the estate): see Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale*, pp. 217-19, and especially 1208 16-17. The details are difficult. 1208 reads: αὐτόθι ἀπέχον παρὰ σοῦ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρός σου ἐκ πλήρους διὰ χειρός, ἀποχαρισθέν σοι ὡς προσφερη κατ[ὰ] χάριν ἀναφέρετον καὶ ἀμ[ετανό]ητον. It seems to me likely that προσφερη should be interpreted as προσφέρη—'donated to you, as you state, . . .'; and that 2723 had προφέρε[τ]α[ι] in the same sense. (I cannot read προσ- in 2723, or προ- in 1208.) But observe that the subject here would be the father, not the son as in 1208. The preceding word ended in -θεν, but the traces do not suggest ἀποχαρισθέν. In 19 [κατὰ] χάριν ἀναφέρετον καὶ ἀμετανό[η]τον suits the space and is not excluded by the traces.

23-5 continue the guarantee: for 23 cf., e.g., 1700 14-15 (there is no space for ἀπό τε ἀπογραφῆς ἀνδρῶν as at 1697 24-5); for 25, e.g., 1208 21. I have found no parallel to explain 24.

## 2724. RECEIPT FOR PART OF A WATER-WHEEL

22 × 30 cm.

19th Oct., A.D. 469

This is an early example of a common type of document, antedated only by P. Med. 64 of about A.D. 440, see the list in *Aegyptus* xxxvii (1957), p. 98. Flavia Cyria, the landowner, has not appeared before in these volumes.

ὑπατία Φλαουίω Ζήνωνος καὶ Μαρκιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων

Φαῶφι κβ' ἡ ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ;

Φλαουία Κυρία τῆ λαμπροτάτη καὶ εὐγενεστάτη γεουχούση

ἐν τῆ λαμπρῇ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει

5 Αὐρήλι[ο]ι Παροήριος υἱὸς Κορηλίου καὶ Ἰωάννης Φοιβάμμ' ὄνοσ

ἐναπόγραφοι γεωργοὶ ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Χαιρᾶ κτήματος τῆς

εῆς θαυμασιότητος τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ· χρείας καὶ νῦν

γενομένης εἰς τὴν ὑφ' ἡμᾶς γεουχικὴν μηχανήν

καλουμ[έ]νην Ψῶ ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς ἀροσίμην γῆν ἄξονος

10 ἐνόσ, ἀνελθόντες ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἠξιώσαμεν τὴν

ὑμῶν λαμπρότητα ὥστε τοῦτον παρασχεθῆναι

καὶ εὐθέως ἡ ὑμῶν εὐγένεια παρέσχετο ἡμῶν  
τὸν αὐτὸν καινὸν ἀντλητικὸν εὐάρεστον ἄξονα  
εἰς ἀναπλήρωσ[ιν] τῶν μηχανικῶν ὀργάνων  
15 ὄντινα ὑποδ[εξάμ]ενοι ἐν τῇ [σῆ]μερον ἡμέρᾳ  
ἥτις ἐστὶν Φα[ῶφ]ι δευτέρα [καὶ] εἰκὰς τῆς ὀγδόης  
ἰνδικτίωνος, γε[ωργία]ς δὲ ἐνάτη[ς] ἐπινημέσεως  
προσομολο[γοῦμεν] ἐξ ἀλληλεγ[γύη]ς τὰς ἀντλήσεις  
καὶ ὑδροπαρ[ο]χί[ας] ποιεῖσθαι ἀ[μ]έμπτως· κυρία ἡ  
20 χειρογραφεία [καὶ] ἐπερωτηθέντες ὠμολογήσαμεν· Αὐρήλιος Πασοήριος  
Κορνηλίον κ[αὶ] Ἰωάννης Φοιβάμμωνος πεποιημένα τὴν  
χειρογραφείαν ὑποδεξάμενοι τὸν ἄξονα τὸν καινὸν καὶ συμφ(ωνεῖ)  
ἡμῶν πάντα ὡς πρόκ(εῖται)· Αὐρήλιος Σαραπάμμων Θεώνος  
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγραμμάτων ὄντων.  
25 Χ δι . . . . .

On the back along the fibres :

† χειρογραφεία ἄξονος ἐνός δ . . . . .

20. 1. χειρογραφεία ἀπλή γραφεία.

‘In the consulship of Flavius Zeno and Flavius Marcianus, most illustrious men. Phaophi 22nd, 8th indiction.

‘To Flavia Cyria, most illustrious and most noble landowner in the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxryhynchites, Aurelius Pasoerius, son of Cornelius, and Aurelius John, son of Phoebammon, registered farmers from the hamlet of Chaira(s ?), a property of your Magnificence in the same nome. Since even now the need has arisen for an axle for the estate water-wheel in our charge called Pso, which waters arable land, we came up to the city and asked your Illustriousness that it be provided and directly your Nobility provided us with the said axle for a water-wheel, new and in good condition, to complete the machinery of the water-wheel, which axle we received today, which is the 22nd of Phaophi of the eighth indiction, but in the farming season for the ninth *epinemesis*, and we declare with mutual guarantees that we will perform the water-drawing and the distribution of water blamelessly. The contract, of which there is a single copy, is valid and in answer to the formal question we gave our assent.

‘We, Aurelius Pasoerius, son of Cornelius, and Aurelius John, son of Phoebammon, made the contract after receiving the new axle and everything satisfies us, as is aforesaid. I, Aurelius Sarapammon, son of Theon, wrote on their behalf because they are illiterate.

‘Through . . .’

(Verso) ‘Contract for one axle . . .’

9 ἀροσίμην: 1. ἀρόσιμον, but cf. the same form in 137 14 and P. Lond. 776. 9.

17 γε[ωργία]ς. After 1899 18, the closest parallel, but the traces are illegible and there may be other possibilities, v. Pap. Lugd. Bat. xiii, no. 15. 13 (ἀλωνίας), 1900 25 (ὑδροπαροχέας δὲ καρπῶν), 1982 19 (κατασποράς δὲ καρπῶν).

## 2725. LETTER TO ADRASTUS AND SPARTACUS

16 × 13.3 cm.

29th April, A.D. 71

This letter has lost its opening, but the addressees are named on the back: Ἀδράστῳ υἱῷ . . . καὶ Σπαρτάκῳ ἀδελφῶνι. Each line of the text has suffered some damage at the beginning; the gaps can be estimated from the certain supplements in 17–18. The hand is a fluent cursive, typical of its period.

The writer finds himself in a major city, very probably Alexandria. He writes mostly about private business—trading, legal processes, pig-fodder. But at 18 he turns to a public event: ‘the lord Caesar entered on the 30th at the 2nd hour . . .’. This date would most naturally be the 30th next before the date of the letter, i.e. 30 Pharmouthi or 25th April, A.D. 71. And the Caesar must be Titus.

Titus passed through Egypt on his way home from the Jewish war. He embarked at Alexandria for Rome (Josephus, *BJ* vii 5. 3); on the way to Alexandria he visited Memphis (Suet. *Titus* 5). The chronology is ill-defined. Titus had been at Berytus on his father’s birthday, 17th November, 70 (*BJ* vii 3. 1). He travelled through Syria as far as Zeugma, then returned through Antioch and Jerusalem and so across the desert to Alexandria (*BJ* vii 5. 1–3). Chamblu (*Philologus* 44 (1885), p. 507) estimated the travelling-time required for such an itinerary, and concluded that Titus cannot have reached Alexandria before 6th May, 71. But the estimate is naturally fallible. Nothing here forbids us to suppose that Titus was in Egypt in late April. Thence he set out for Rome, and for the Jewish triumph, which he celebrated a few days after his arrival (*BJ* vii 5. 3)—in June, according to the normal supposition.

All in all, it seems safe to conclude that Titus Caesar made his entrance into Alexandria towards 7 o’clock on the morning of 25th April, A.D. 71.

The text and notes below owe much to the help of Professor H. C. Youtie.

. . . . .  
. . . ] . . . . [ . . . ] . τ . . . ια . . [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] .  
. . . . . ] πεπλευκότα πρὸς σέ· περὶ δὲ τῆς τιμῆ[ς] . ρ .  
. . . . . τ]άλαντον πολεῖται δδε ἐκ (δρ.) μη καὶ α . . . .  
. . . . . ] ασταθῆ εἰς Ὁξύρυγχα ἄλλας (δρ.) κ ὡστ’ εἶραι  
5 τοῦ ταλ]άντου σύνπαντι (δρ.) ξη· ἐρὶς ἴσθεν σοι ἡ ἀκρ[ί]βια;  
. . . ] . . . Ἡρακλᾶς ὁ γραμματεὺς[ς] C[ε]ρίωνος Ἰσχάς λ[ε]γόμε-  
νος . . . ] . . . . σιν εἰς ἐμπορίαν οὕτως τάλαντα ὅε. εἰάν  
. . . ] . Διογύσιος ἐνηνυχῶς σοι τὴν χρῆσιν ὑπαγε πρ[ὸ]ς

.....] Ἰσχυάδος καὶ ἀγόρασον· περὶ δὲ τοῦ μετεώρου σου  
 10 ..... ]μα[ε] σὺν Διογᾶτι καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ ὁ παράκλητος  
 ..... ἀναφόριον θεῶν θελόντων ἐν ταῖς δυεὶς ἡμέ-  
 ραις ..... ]σκειται· Διογᾶς δὲ λέγει ὅτι ἄλλην μὴν δαπανῶ  
 . . . . . ]της συνφωνίας', ἐγὼ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι 'οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ[ε]c  
 κατέπ]λευσα', καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι 'Σπάρτακός μοι εἴρηκεν ὁδε  
 15 .[.....]. οθ . κειται [A]μμωνίου τεταγμένοι εἰς τὴν ε  
 μ[ετὰ] πολ[λ]ῆς παρακλήσεος ἵνα μοι δῶσι τὸ κερμάτιον.  
 περ[ὶ] δ]ξ τῶν χωρτασμάτων τῶν χοιριδίων μὴ ἀμελή-  
 ρης [ἀ]γοράσαι μοι ὡς καὶ ὑπ' ὄψιν σε ἠρώτησα. ὁ δὲ κύριος  
 κα[ῖ]ρα εἰσήλθεν τῇ λ [ὦ]ρα β̄ πρῶτον ἐν παρεμβολῇ  
 20 ε . ε[.....]. ταν εἰς Σαραπίον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαραπίου εἰς τ[ὸ] ἵππι-  
 κὸ[ν] ..... ] ν τὰ δὲ ἄκτα τῶν τιμῶν γνώση ἂν ἀναπλευ-  
 ρο[.....]... μαι ὑμᾶς πάντας. (ἔτους) γ αὐτοκράτορος καίσαρος  
 ] Οὐεσπασιανοῦ σεβαστοῦ μη(νὸς) Γερμανικῆς δ̄.

3. 1. ὠδε. 8. 1. ἐνηροχῶς. 13. ουκ added above the line. 17. 1. χορτα-  
 μμάτων. 19. 1. πρῶτον.

'... As for the price . . . , a talent is sold here at 48 dr. ; and if . . . is deliv-  
 ered to Oxyrhyncha, another 20 dr. So that makes 68 dr. in all for the talent. You  
 will say, whence this precision? . . . Heraclas, secretary of Sirion, the one nicknamed  
 Fig, . . . 75 talents for sale on these terms. If Dionysius has brought your loan, go to  
 the . . . of Fig and buy. As for your business pending, I . . . with Diogas every  
 day ; and, God willing, the supporter in the matter of your application will be found within  
 the two days. Diogas says, "I'm spending another mina, beyond the agreement". And I  
 was saying, "I didn't come down on those terms". And he was saying, "Spartacus has  
 told me . . .". . . . of Ammonius are fixed for the 6th, with a strong appeal that they  
 should give me the money. As for the fodder for the pigs, make sure to buy it for me as I  
 asked you when we met. The lord Caesar entered on the 30th at the 2nd hour, first in the  
 camp . . . to the Serapeum, from the Serapeum to the Hippodrome(?) . . . The  
 proceedings in his honour (?) you shall know . . . come up river . . . I . . . you  
 all. Year 3 of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, month Germaniceus 4.'

2 ρ : the first trace suggests η (less probably π) ; the last is a curve consistent with  
 α, ο, ω. One might expect the name of a material sold by weight.

3-4 'and a further 20 dr. if it is delivered to Oxyrhyncha'. In 4 probably κατ]α-  
 σταθῆ. In 3 perhaps καὶ ἂν . . . , though the trace looks more like λ than ν.

6 For C[υ]ρίωνος compare 1044 10 ; not C[υ]ρίωνος, for the gap is wide enough only  
 for ι or ο. Ἰσχυάς might be Ἰσχυᾶς, related to Ἰσχυρᾶς and Ἰσχυρίων as Σαρᾶς to Σαραπίωνος  
 and Σαραπίων. But 'dried fig' makes a more likely nickname : an hetaera is so called in Men-  
 ander, *Colax* fr. 4 K.

7 . . . ] . . . ] : ἐκτίθηεν (Youtie) gives the right sense ; but I cannot find a reading  
 which squares with the traces.

10 ὁ παράκλητος : the word seems not to have appeared in the papyri, except as a  
 suspect emendation in BGU 601. 12 (see *BL* iv 5). It may mean 'advocate' ; more usually  
 'one who supports a party in court by simply being present there'. (See Kittel, *Theolog.*  
*Wörterbuch*, s.v.) It seems that proceedings under Spartacus' *anaphorion* were to begin in  
 two days' time ; meanwhile they have still to track down an essential supporter. 12  
 ἀνευρε]σκειται ?

11-12 ἐν ταῖς δυεὶς ἡμέ[ραις] : the letter was written on the 4th (23) ; something is to  
 happen on the 6th (15).

14-16 The restoration in 16 seems plausible enough : the same phrase occurs in 2  
 Corinthians viii 4. We need a plural subject for εἰσω, perhaps a noun ending in -κειται.  
 -οθηκεται suits the traces best (θ is certain). I can think of nothing better than ὑποθήκεται :  
 mortgagers might well have money to hand over, but the word would be new and without  
 congeners.

15 The first letter was ο or ω, e.g. 14-15 δεε | ὦν. The direct speech might end here,  
 or continue.

19 κα[ῖ]ρα : α and ι are very probable, ρ vestigial.

[ὦ]ρα β̄ : the second hour in Alexandria would be 6.37 to 7.42 A.M., according to  
 Ginzler's table (2678 4 note).

20 ε ε[ : ερε[ or επε[.

] ταν : the trace is two spots of ink high in the line, perhaps the remains of an upright :  
 -απα]γτᾶν looks possible.

21 ] ν : ]αν or ]εν.

19-21 Youtie reconstructs the sense thus : πρῶτον ἐν παρεμβολῇ, ἔπειτα ἀπα]γτᾶν (for  
 ἀπαντῶν) εἰς Σαραπίον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαραπίου εἰς τ[ὸ] ἵππικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν. 'Camp' and 'Serapeum' raise  
 no difficulties. ἵππικόν normally means 'cavalry' : here it should have a topographical  
 reference, perhaps 'hippodrome' (Audollent, *Tabulae Defixionum* 187. 59 ἐν τῷ ἵππικῷ  
 'Ρώμης ; Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, s.v.).

What city is this? Memphis and Alexandria both had a camp and a Serapeum.  
 General probability no doubt favours Alexandria ; and ἵππικόν, if it means 'hippodrome',  
 is decisive. Titus followed a natural route, from the camp at Nicopolis through the Canopic  
 gate to the Serapeum ; then retraced his steps through the Canopic gate to the Hippodrome  
 (which stood on the road to Nicopolis, Strabo xvii 1. 10).

21 ἄκτα is a certain reading. The transliterated form of Latin *acta* is known from  
 inscriptions and literature of the Roman period, where it retains the strict sense of formal  
 'proceedings', judicial or administrative—thus ἄκτα Πιλάτου (Justin *ap.* Migne, *PG* 6. 384 c,  
 etc.) ; ἄκτα βουλῆς (OGI 595. 20, journal of the Tyrian senate, A.D. 174) ; ἄκτα τῆς πόλεως  
 (Malalas 443. 20, records of Antioch). Here, I suppose, ἄκτα τῶν τιμῶν is 'the official record  
 of his reception'. But I find no parallel closer than *acta triumphorum*.

21-2 ἀναπλευ]ρο[ : 1. ἀναπλεύω ?

] . . . ] μαι : not ] . . . ] ομαι (ἀσπάζομαι). ἐπισκο]ποῦμαι (Youtie) looks possible, but the traces are  
 too uncertain to confirm it fully.

## 2726. LETTER OF PANECHOTES TO HEPHAESTION

7 × 30 cm.

Second century

This little business letter is entirely concerned with the local registration  
 of two legal documents which have already been registered in Alexandria.  
 The recipient of the letter is asked to present the contracts and the certificates

of their registration in the central archives to a local notarial office and to obtain a certificate of local registration. It appears, though the wording is not explicit, that the local registration is to be made either at a bank or at a notarial office, designated by the new word *νομογραφείον*. The writer encloses 32 drachmae for expenses but makes provision for a further advance if that should not be enough.

The writing appears to be of the second century.

<p>↔ Πανεχώτης  'Ηφαιστίωνι τῶι  καὶ Σαραπίωνι  τῶ τεμιωτάτῳ  5 χαίρειν· φθάνω  μέν σοι δεδηλω-  κῶς ἦν ἔχω πρὸς  σέ στοργήν· καὶ  νῦν δὲ σοῦ δέομαι,  10 κύριε, μὴ περιδεῖν  μου τὴν ἀξίωσιν·  τῶ γὰρ ἀναδιδούν-  τί σοι τὸ ἐπιστόλιον  ἔδωκα δημοσιώ-  15 σεὶ δύο καὶ τούτων  τὰς ἐπιστολάς  καὶ (δραχμὰς) λβ· τὸν οὖν  τούτων χρηματι-  μὸν εὐθέως, καθὼς  20 ἔθος ἔχεις, ἀπαρ-  τίσας δώσεις αὐτῶ</p>	<p>ἢ ᾧ ἐὰν δοκιμάσῃς  ἐτέρῳ ἀσφαλεῖ  εἰς τὴν Διδύμου  25 τράπεζαν πρὸς τῇ  βιβλιοθήκῃ ἢ εἰς τὸ  'Ηρακλείδου νομο-  γραφίον· ὅ τι οὖν ἐὰν  ἀναλώσῃς δηλώ-  30 σεὶ· ἐὰν δέ τι ἐνδέξῃ  εἰς τὰ γραμματικά,  δώσει σοι ὁ φίλος  καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῶ ἀπο-  καταστήσω· ἔρρωσέ  35 μοι, κύριε, πανοικη-  σία.</p>
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Verso  
↑ 'Ηφαιστίων...  
νομογρ.....[...]

'Panechotes to the much-esteemed Hephaestion, alias Sarapion, greeting. I have already shown you the love I have for you, and now I beg you, lord, not to neglect my request. For to the man who delivers the letter to you I have given two centrally registered documents and the letters for them and 32 drachmae. So after arranging their local registration quickly, as your custom is, you will give (them) to him or to whatever other safe messenger you approve at the bank of Didymus by the land-registry office or at the notarial office under Heracleides. So whatever you spend you shall report. And if anything is wanting for the scribe's fees my friend will give it to you and I shall give it back to him. Fare well, my lord, with all your household.'

(Verso) 'To Hephaestion . . . notar . . .'

14 ff. δημοσιώσεις are documents that have been registered through the *archidicastes'* office in Alexandria (v. Jörs, *Zeitschr. f. Sav. Stift.* xxxiv, pp. 115 ff.). τούτων τὰς ἐπιστολάς are letters that the *archidicastes* has written to the local officials certifying the registration; cf. 1200 53 ff. ταύτην δὲ βουλόμενος προσφωνηθῆναι τοῖς τῶν ἐγκτήσεων τοῦ 'Οξ. νομοῦ βιβλιοφύλαξι ἀξίῳ . . . συντάξαι γράψαι αὐτοῖς ἰν' εἰδῶσι.

24 τὴν Διδύμου | τράπεζαν. Not in Calderini, 'Censimento topografico delle banche', *Aegyptus* xxxviii, pp. 244 ff. For the notarial function of banks cf. Preisigke, *Girwesen*, pp. 278 ff.

26 βιβλιοθήκῃ. Presumably the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων.

27 νομο|γραφίον. The word is new, though the meaning is to a certain extent obvious, i.e. 'the office of the νομογράφοι', on whom see Mitteis, *Gdz.* p. 56 n. 7.

The natural implication is that the local registration could take place equally well through the bank or the notary's office. Strictly speaking the writer only says that delivery of the completed dossier should be made at one of these two places, and perhaps the phrasing should not be pressed beyond that.

## 2727. LETTER FROM BASSUS (?) TO EULOGIUS

9 × 26 cm.

Third/fourth century

This letter contains an interesting invitation to a holiday trip out of town during the hot weather but is otherwise unremarkable. The verso is blank and there is no address. A possible explanation of this is that both writer and recipient were in Oxyrhynchus, as *ἀποδημησαι* (13) implies, and the delivery was therefore such a simple matter that no address was required. Some letters without addresses were perhaps enclosed in parcels (cf. 2599 introd.), but that is not indicated here.

The hand is probably of the late third or early fourth century, and the names Eulogius and Gerontius also suggest the early Byzantine period.

Βάσος Εὐλογίῳ ἀδελφῶ  
χαίρειν  
καλῶς ποιήσεις ὁμειλή[σας  
τῶ 'Αμοί περὶ τῆς οἰκίας τ[οῦ] ἐ-  
5 πιβάλλοντος αὐτῶ μέρ[ους]  
καὶ δηλώσας μοι τὴν ποσό-  
τητα 'τῆς τιμῆς' καὶ ὡσαύτως 'Απολλω-  
νίου καὶ Θεοδώρου· ἀλλ' ὄρα  
μὴ ἀμελήσῃς, ἀδελφε· ὡς γὰρ  
10 οἶδας, ἀπαραίτητός ἐστιν ἡ χ-



ρεία· νομίζω ὅτι καί σοι κα-  
 ταφαίνεται εὐλογον εἶναι  
 τὸ ἀποδημῆσαι, λοιπὸν ἤδη  
 καὶ θερμανθέντων τῶν ἀέ-  
 15 ρων· εἰ οὖν τι ἔχεις ἐν χερσί,  
 διαθοῦ αὐτό, ἵνα, ἐὰν μη-  
 δὲν ἐναντίον, τῇ δεκάτῃ ἐξορ-  
 μήσωμεν· ἐὰν ἦ σοι ἀβαρές,  
 σκυλεῖς πρὸς Θεόνα τὸν κυ-  
 20 τέα καὶ Γερόντιον ποίησον  
 αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι πρὸς μὲ ἄ-  
 μα τῷ τὰ [γρ]άμματά σοι ἐπι-  
 φέροντι, καὶ Διοσκουρίδην  
 δὲ τὸν χρυσοχόον· ἐπίστει-  
 25 λον δέ μοι πάντως.

ἐρρωσθαί σοι εὐχομαι,  
 κύριε ἀδελφε, πανοικεῖ  
 ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον.

7 f. I. Ἀπολλωνίω, Θεοδώρω. 19. I. Θεόνα.

'Bassus (?) to Eulogius, his brother, greeting. You will do me a favour if you speak to Amois about the share of the house that falls to him and report to me how much the price is; and the same to Apollonius and Theodorus. But see you don't neglect it, brother. For, as you know, the need is pressing. I think that the idea of getting away seems reasonable to you too, since the weather is already getting hot. So if you have any matter in hand, settle it, so that if nothing interferes, we may set out on the tenth. If it is not inconvenient for you, go quickly to Theon the cobbler and to Gerontius and make them come to me along with the man who brings you this letter, and also Dioscurides, the goldsmith. And write to me at all events.

'I pray for your health, my lord brother, with all your house for a very long time.'

1 Βάσος. The Roman name Bassus? Cf. *SB* 4125. 5.

7 Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Θεοδώρου. I have taken the genitive as a mistake for the dative, but even this is ambiguous, since it would not be clear whether they depend on δηλώσας or, as seems better, on ὁμιλήσας. The genitive seems intolerably elliptic, but perhaps the phrase should be translated 'and (do) likewise (in regard to the shares) of A. and T.'

10 οἶδας. See Moulton-Howard, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, pp. 220 f.

13 λοιπὸν ἤδη. λοιπὸν is used in a temporal sense, as the equivalent of ἤδη; λ. ἤδη is a known pleonasm; see the examples in Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque*, p. 32.

## 2728. LETTER FROM CAPITOLINUS TO SARAPAMMON

14 × 25 cm.

Third/fourth century

The chief interest of this item and the following one lies in the occurrence of the word *κάμβαθον* (33 and 2729 9) in contexts which allow us to conclude that it was a container, probably an earthenware pot. It seems quite clear that at least some of the four passages collected in *CPJ* iii, no. 457 a-d as references to the Sabbath made use of this word in this sense. Only one, 457 d = 903 19, absolutely resists this interpretation. The same word is probably to be recognized in 1290 1 *κάμαθον* ἐλέ[ου] ?.<sup>1</sup>

The letter is mostly devoted to matters of business but at the beginning there is an interesting development, unfortunately damaged and otherwise not perfectly lucid, of the routine complaint of not having had a letter lately.

The sheet of papyrus is made up of fragments joined together and is virtually complete, but a few very small pieces are lost. In other places the surface is rubbed. The verso appears to be blank but it is badly discoloured in the region where an address might be expected.

↔ Καπιτ[ωλί]νος Σαραπάμμωνι ἀδελφῷ  
 {ἀδελφ[ω]} χαίρειν· πρὸ μὲν πάντων  
 εὐχομ[αί] σοι τὴν ὀλοκληρίαν με[τ]ὰ τῶν  
 τέκνω[ν] σοι ἅμα τῇ συμβί[ω] σοι  
 5 [[παρα]] πα[ρὰ] τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ· θαυμάζω  
 πῶς καὶ νῦν, τοῦ Ὀριγένους ἐρχομένου  
 πρὸς ἐμέ, οὐδέν μοι ἐδή[λ]ωσας [[οὐ]] περὶ οὐδενός·  
 ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι πολλὰ β' ἀρ' οὔμαι σοι· ἀποταγῇ μέρος·  
 κυγῇ γὰρ παρὰ φιλοσόφ[ω] ἀπόκρισις· μὴ οὖν κἀγὼ  
 10 δύναμε μὴ ἀπ[ο]κρίνασ[θ]αι; ἀλλ' ὁ μωσ' ἐγὼ ε . . . γω  
 γραφῶν . . . . μ . μετ[ ]ταν γράμματά  
 σου κομισ[ ] . αςσω[ ]· νομίζω δὲ ὅτι  
 καλὸν ἐστίν [σοι γ]ράφειν ὧν λαμβάνει καὶ

<sup>1</sup> I have since noted that the word has also appeared in *PSI* 829. 21. Perhaps *κάμαθον οἴνου* (*PSI* 1423. 23) is only a variant spelling. Professor Youtie has now told me that the identity of *κάμαθον*, *κάμβαθον* and *κάμαθον* had been suggested to him earlier by Mrs. Ann Hanson. He adds that it may be intended in *O. Mich.* 249, ll. 2-10, headed *λόγος οἴνου* / *καμ* ( ). For the reading see *TAPA* 76 (1945), pp. 140-2, where he proposed to read a part of *κάμ(ιον)*. He also refers me to the Coptic **САМАΘΕ** = cistern, *δεξαμενή*, and compares the word **ΛΑΚΚΟΝ** used as a measure and perhaps related to *λάκκος*; see Crum and Bell, *Wadi Sarga*, p. 23.

- ὄν ἐξοδιάζει ὁ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ πρὸ τούτου  
 15 ἔγραψά σοι διὰ Διδύμου τὸ καθ' ἐν καὶ νῦν γράφω·  
 ἔστι δέ· αὐτῶν ἐρχομένων εἰς Αἴγυπτον [...] .[...] . . . . 'Ωριγένε-  
 νους οἴνου σπ(άθια) ι' καθὼς ἔγρ[αψα] πρᾶθέντων  
 πρὸς (δρ.) 'Αω' (γίν.) (ταλ.) γ'. καὶ ἐπὶ μηνὸς Παχῶν σπ(άθια) [...]'  
 προπαλαίου καὶ ἐπὶ μηνὸς Παῦνι ἄλλα σπ(άθια)  
 20 γ' καὶ τούτων σπ(άθια) κ' ἐπράθησαν καθ' ὁμοιότητα  
 πάντων πρὸς (δρ.) 'Αχ (γίν.) (ταλ.) ε (δρ.) 'Β. καὶ ἐπὶ μηνὸς  
 Μεσορῆ 5 ἄλλα σπ(άθια) ι' πρὸς (δρ.) 'Αψ (γίν.) (ταλ.) β (δρ.) 'Ε.  
 γί(ν.) τούτων τῶν σπ(άθια) μ (ταλ.) ια (δρ.) 'Α χωρὶς τῆς προ-  
 δηλωθείσης σοι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λο[ι]πάδος· καὶ νῦν κόμι-  
 25 κον διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ 'Ωριγένους [ἐ]πὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς  
 Μεσορῆ ἄλλα οἴ(νου) σπ(άθια) ι'· πρᾶ[θ]έτωσαν καὶ ταῦτα  
 πρὸς (δρ.) 'Αψ· τὴν τούτων οὖν τιμὴν ἀπόστειλόν  
 μοι ἐν μαρσιππίῳ ἐσφραγισμένον ἐν τραχαίοις  
 [[καὶ]] χρία 'γάρ' ἔστιν ἀργυρίου· τῶν γὰρ ἐντολικῶν  
 30 ἐ(κ)κρούεται σοι ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας λοιπάδος·  
 κόμισον δὲ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς φαγὴν σου βω-  
 ξίον ἐλαίου χ' ο' (ὄν) α.·· ἐὰν δυνη[θ]ῆς δύο ὄγκιας π[ι]-  
 πέρεως καὶ κάμβαθον βωριδίων ἀποστῆλαι σὺν  
 προτέροις ἐντολικοῖς· ἀπόστειλον καὶ ἡμίχον  
 35 μέλιτος· πάντα τ[ῆ]ς τ[ι]μῆς μὴ ὀκνήσης πα . . .

Across the fibres of the recto, downwards in left margin:

γράψαι μοι περὶ πάντων· εἰ προχωρῶ παρὰ σοὶ ἔλαιον πλέω οἶνον, δῆλω-  
 κον [ c. 15 letters  
 ἡμῶν πάντας κατ' ὄνομα· ἐρῶσθαί σε [ε]ὔχομαι.

10. I. δύναμαι. 13. I. γράφειν. 28. I. ἐσφραγισμένω σι -ην. 29. I. χρεία.  
 31. I. φαγεῖν. 36. I. προχωρεῖ, οἴνου. 37. κατ' pap.

'Capitolinus to Sarapammon, his brother, greeting. Before all I pray for your health with (that of) your children and your wife before the lord God. I am surprised that even now when Horigenes comes to me you let me know nothing about anything. I know that I weigh heavily upon you. Let part be set aside (?). For among philosophers silence is an answer. Could not I too refuse to answer? But all the same I . . . writing (and?) . . . when I receive your letter(s?) . . . And I think that is proper to write you what the man receives and what he pays out. Even before this I wrote you an itemized account (and sent it) by Didymus; now too I write it.

'Item. When (they?) came to Egypt . . . Horigenes, 10 *spathia* of wine, as I wrote,

sold at 1,800 dr., total 3 talents. And for the month of Pachon . . . *spathia* of very old (wine) and for the month of Payni another 3 *spathia*. And of these 20 *spathia* were sold in the same way as all (the rest?) at 1,600 dr., total 5 talents 2,000 dr. And for the month of Mesore, on the 6th, another 10 *spathia* at 1,700 dr., total 2 talents 5,000 dr. Total for these forty *spathia*, 11 talents 1,000 dr., apart from the arrears which I have communicated to you before.

'Now too accept delivery through the same Horigenes for the same month of Mesore another 10 *spathia* of wine. Let these too be sold at 1,700 dr. So then send the price of these to me in a sealed purse. . . . For there is a shortage of cash. The price of my orders will be deducted from your previous arrears. And receive through the same messenger for your own consumption a jar of oil, 1 *chous* and a half. If you can, send off 2 ounces of pepper and a jar of pickled mullet with my previous orders. And send off half a *chous* of honey. As for all the details of the price do not hesitate . . . to write to me about everything. If in your district oil is fetching more than wine, let me know. (I greet) all our friends by name. I pray for your health.'

8 ἀποταγή μέρος. I find this very abrupt and puzzling. Literally, 'Let part be set aside'. Does he intend, 'I don't mean all I say'? But the sequence of thought to the next sentence is then obscure.

9 παρὰ φιλοσόφου[ς]. Possibly -[υ]? 'Silence from a philosopher is an answer?'

10-12 The surface is abraded here and some small fragments are missing. The thought may be, 'But nevertheless I go on writing to you and answer when I get your letters'.

16 The interlineation is rubbed and illegible to me and its intended position in the sentence is not clear. The gap in the line is not wide enough for διὰ. διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ 'Ω. might be expected from 25, but it seems not to suit. The case of πρᾶθέντων in 17 seems to suggest that αὐτῶν refers to goods rather than people but the grammar is puzzling.

εἰς Αἴγυπτον. Probably from Alexandria rather than from anywhere that we would regard as outside Egypt.

22 5. Presumably the day is specified at this point only because this letter accompanies a second shipment for the month of Mesore, see 25 seq.

28 ἐσφραγισμένον. Read -ην or -φ.

ἐν τραχαίοις. This seems to be new. The next sentence suggests that he is asking either for cash or for quick delivery. τροχίας means a messenger (Hesych.) and τροχίας χαλκός means cast bronze (Poll. vii 105). One of these may be relevant; τραχύς seems not to be.

31 βωξίον. Cf. 2596 8 and note. The doubtful letter is represented by a stroke rising from below to the foot of *iota*.

35 Read πάντα (τὰ) τ[ῆ]ς τ[ι]μῆς?

36 δῆλων [·]. If the whole of the margin was used, there was room for about 15 letters; e.g. [μοι ἀπάξομαι τοὺς.

## 2729. LETTER FROM DIOSCURIDES TO AQUILEUS

18 × 27 cm.

Fourth century

Apart from the occurrence of the word κάμβαθον (9, see 2728 Introd.), this letter is full of novelties relating to currency, weights and measures. Unfortunately the unreliable spelling and grammar increase the difficulties of understanding them, and it abounds in such vulgar bye-forms as ἔβαλα (18), ἐπλήρωκα (21), δης (=δῶς 23), ἀφηκες (imperative? 30).

Another peculiarity is the presence of a rough breathing (39), since they are relatively rare in documents (e.g. P. Fay. 122, P. Strassb. 169, P. Ryl. 624, 122, 2711) and this document has no claim to any of the literary accomplishments with which lectional signs are usually associated.

The sheet of papyrus is broken into two across the middle between lines 11 and 12, but the resultant damage is slight.

↔ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῶ Ἀκυλέῳ Διοσκουρίδῃς  
 ἐν κυρίῳ χέρειν.  
 πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαι τῷ δεσπότῃ Θ(ε)ῶ  
 περὶ τῆς ὀλοκληρείας ὑμῶν· θαυμάζω πῶς  
 5 ἕως σήμερον οὐδαιμίαν ἐπιστολὴν μοι εἶ-  
 πεμψας· εἶ σαπρὰ εἶ καλά, δὸς δύο ἀργυρα  
 καὶ γράψον μοι· κόμισον οὖν δι(ὰ) τοῦ πλοίου  
 Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν δι(ὰ) Ἡλίας  
 ναύτου κάμβαθον α' ἔχων ἀργυρίου μυρ(ιάδας) Βψ'·  
 10 ὁμοί(ως) κόμισον δι(ὰ) πλοίου Ἀβάνης πλοίου ἡδί-  
 ου ἄλλο κνίδιον διπλοῦν α' κέρματος ἔχων  
 ἄλλας μυρ(ιάδας) Δ· ὁμοῦ γί(νεται) τὰ δύο ἀνγία .[.].[.].  
 α' καὶ μυρι(άδες) ψ'· ὁμοί(ως) κόμισον δι(ὰ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ πλοί-  
 ου Ἀβάνης κενδ(ηνάρια) β' τέως ἔχων-  
 15 τεσ τὰ β' μάδια μῆ'· διαμερήσεται οὖν σοι  
 καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός μου Διόσκορος καὶ πάλιν πέμπω  
 ἡμῖν ἄλλα· ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῶν γὰρ σήμερον μυρ(ιάδες) (ταλάντων) ς'·  
 οὐδαὶ οὐκ ἔνι· τὴν νύκταν ἔβαλα αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ  
 πλοῖον· ὁμο(ίως) ἀπέστειλά σοι δι(ὰ) πλοίου Ὁριγένου ν[ς']  
 20 υἱός Ἡρᾶ οἴνου ὀμφακηραὶ πρωτ(είου) α' ὥστε  
 ἡγόρασεσ ὀμφακηραὶ κε' τέως· ἦδει γὰρ ἐ-  
 πλήρωκα αὐτῷ ἀγγίων ὅσον αὐτῆς τὴν περα-  
 γωγῆς αὐτῶν· μηδὲν οὖν δῆς αὐτῷ· ἐὰν κομή-  
 σῃς ταῦτα, γράψον μοι· καὶ ἦκουσα γὰρ ὅτι

Across the fibres of the recto, downwards in the left margin :

25 ἐστάκαται σοι καὶ Ἰωαννου εἰτας κεφαλεωτὰς  
 οὕτως οὖν ἀγοράσεται ὁμοῦ σοι καὶ Διόσκορος  
 εἶδη καὶ πέμψον μοι ταχύ.

Verso ↔ ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήσῃς, κύριέ μου ἀδελφαι· ὁμοῦ ἀγοράσεται εἶδη καλὰ  
 καὶ πέμψατέ μοι εἶδη ἦδη λί(τρα) χωρικὰ ἢ λί(τρα) πρ( ) ἦδη κον-  
 χίσιμα ἦδη  
 30 χαλκώματα ἦδη σπάτια ἦδη ἀπαξαπλῶς μὴ ἀφήκεσ μοι· ἀργῶς  
 κᾶθημαι μόνος· εἰμὶ γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην ἡμῶν· οὐ δύναμαι γὰρ  
 καλευθῆναι τῆς ἀποθήκης μου· πάντα <τὰ> θελόμενα πολλὰ ἀγοράσεται.  
 ἄρτι κυκλεύουσιν εἰς τὰς ἀποθήκας τὸ λί(τρον) τῶν ι' ὀνκίων ἀρ-  
 γύρων  
 κέ' τὸ χωρικὸν τῶν ιγ' ὀνκίων ἀργύρων κ' τὸ κόνχιμα τῶν  
 35 α' δε'' μυρ(ιάδων) λη' τὸ ἀρ .ον μυρ(ιάδων) τ . ' τὸ σπατιου μυ-  
 ρ(ιάδων) ν' καὶ νβ' τὸ χάλκωμα  
 τοῦ α' κεδ( ) μυρ(ιάδων) (ταλ.) ὠν' καὶ (ταλ.) ρ'· γέγονεν πάντα <τὰ>  
 θελόμενα· πέμψον μοι  
 καταπλοῖν καὶ πέμπω σοι κέρμα· τὸ νομιζμάτιον σήμερον μυρ(ιάδων)  
 ψλ'· εἰ δο-  
 κῆ σοι, πέμψον μοι σπάτιον γάρου καὶ κεράμιον α' ταριχῶν· ἀσπά-  
 ζομαι πολλὰ  
 Ἐλένην καὶ Χωοῦς σὺν τῇ μητρὶ Ἄνου καὶ εἰπέ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου  
 Ἄμυρ  
 40 ὅτι μὴ νομίσῃς ὅτι ἐκθρόσ σου εἰμι· ἐὰν θέλῃς πέμψαι ἐξουσίαν  
 . . . . .

ἐρρωσθαι εὐχομαι·

† ἀποδ(ός) Ἀκυλέῳ π(αρά) Διοσκουρίδῃς ἀδελφῶι.

2. 1. χαίρειν. 3. θῶ pap. 4. 1. ὀλοκληρείας. 5. 1. οὐδεμίαν. 6. 1. ἢ  
 σαπρὰ ἢ καλά. εἰ, εἶ pap. 7. δι/ pap. 8. δι/ pap. 1. Ἡλίου. 9. 1. ἔχων. μυρ/  
 pap. 10. ὁμοί/, δι/ pap. 1. Ἀβάνου, ἰδί|ου? 11. 1. ἔχων. 12. μυρ/, γι/ pap.  
 1. ἀγγεῖα. 13. μυρ/, ὁμοί/, δι/ pap. 14. 1. Ἀβάνου, κενδ(ηνάρια). κενδ/ pap.  
 15. 1. μάτια, διαμερίσατε, σὺ. 17. 1. ὁμῶν. 18. 1. οὐδὲ, νύκτα. 19. ὁμοί/, δι/ pap.  
 1. ἀπέστειλά. 20. 1. υἱοῦ, ὀμφακηρᾶν. πρωτ/ pap. 21. 1. ὀμφακηρᾶς, ἦδη. 22. 1.  
 ἀγγείων, τῆς, παραγω|γῆς. 23. 1. δῶς, κομί|σης. 25. 1. ἐστάκατε, σὺ, Ἰωάννης. 26. 1.  
 ἀγοράσατε, σὺ. 28. 1. ἀδελφε, ἀγοράσατε. 29. 1. ἦτοι (ter), κογχίσιμα. λ (bis), ἦ? pap.  
 30. 1. ἦτοι (bis), σπάτια, με. 32. 1. πολλοῦ, ἡγόρασαι? 33. 1. οὐγκίων. λ pap. 34. 1.  
 οὐγκίων, κόγχισμα. 35. 1. σπάθιον. α', δε'', μυρ/ (ter) pap. 36. α', κεδ/ ογ κεδι/, μυρ/  
 pap. 37. μυρ/ pap. 1. νομιζμάτιον, δο|κεῖ. 38. 1. σπάθιον. 39. ἄνον pap. 40. 1.  
 ἐκθρόσ, θέλης, ἐξουσίαν. 42. 1. Διοσκουρίδου, ἀδελφοῦ. ἀποδ/, π/ pap.

'To my lord brother Aquileus Dioscurides sends greetings in the Lord. Before all I pray to the lord God about your health. I wonder why up to the present day you have sent me not a single letter. Whether (you are) well or ill (?), spend two silver coins and write to me. Receive off the ship of our bishop Theodorus from Elias the sailor one *sambathon*

containing 2,700 myriads (of drachmae). Likewise receive off the ship of Abanes, a private ship, another (pot), one double *knidion* containing another 4,000 myriads (of drachmae) in cash. Together the two pots total 1 myriad of talents, 700 myriads (of drachmae). Likewise receive off the same ship of Abanes two hundredweight of iron, the two containing 48 *matia*. Take shares therefore, you and my brother Dioscorus, and I shall send you others again. For the price of them to-day is 200 myriads (of drachmae) and there are none to be had. I loaded them on the ship during the night. Likewise I have sent you by the ship of Horigenes, son of Heras, 1 *omphakera* of first-class wine (?), so that you have bought 25 *omphakerae* so far. I have already paid him in full for the pots as far as the delivery of them is concerned. So do not give him anything. If you receive these things, write to me. And I have heard that you and John have . . . appointed headmen (?). So buy containers together, you and Dioscorus, and send them to me quickly. But do not be negligent, my lord brother. Buy fine containers together and send containers to me, either the local *litra*, or . . . *litra*, or *konkhismata* or bronze vessels or *spathia* or at any rate do not abandon me. I sit idly alone. For I am in our storehouse. For I cannot stir from my storehouse. Everything you want has been bought at great expense. They are currently circulating in the storehouses at 25 silver coins the *litron* of 16 (?) ounces and at 20 silver coins the local *litron* of thirteen ounces, the *konkhisma* of the first [ $\alpha' = (\text{πρώτου})$ , or 'same',  $\alpha' = \alpha(\text{ὑποῦ})$ ?] . . . at 38 myriads (of drachmae), the *argon* (?) at 3 ? (?) myriads (of drachmae), the *spathion* at 50 and 52 myriads (of drachmae), the bronze pot of the . . . at 850 myriads of talents, 100 talents. Everything you want has been acquired. Send me a cloth (?) and I shall send you cash. The *solidus* to-day stands at 730 myriads (of drachmae). If you please, send me a *spathion* of fish sauce and a jar of pickles. Many greetings to Helene and Choos with their mother Hanu. And say to my brother Amys, "Do not believe that I am your enemy". If you wish to send (a letter?), . . . opportunity. I pray for your health.

(Address) 'Deliver to Aquileus from his brother Dioscurides.'

6 εἰ κατὰ εἰ καλά. I naturally feel some doubt about this cryptic expression, but I cannot do better with the letters. Possibly the neuter plural of the adjectives has an adverbial force—'whether things go well or ill, write . . . '—or possibly it refers to some goods the writer and recipient were dealing in—'write (and tell) me if they were rotten or good'.<sup>1</sup>

ἄργυρα. Not yet in *WB*, but see P. Strasb. 330. 3. I do not know what silver coin is referred to. It may be the same as the *miliarensis*, v. Epiphanius, *περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν*, ch. 24 (184A) τὸ δὲ ἄργυρον τοῦτο ἐστὶν ὃ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μιλιάρειον καλοῦσιν; cf. Du Cange, s.v. ἄργυρον. The *τοῦτο* may imply, what seems not unlikely, that more than one coin was called ἄργυρον, and the *miliarensis* is itself not certainly identified with surviving coins, v. Mickwitz, *Die Systeme des rom. Silbergeldes im IV. Jahrh. n. Chr.*, pp. 28–31. Another possibility is the *siliqua* (*κεράτιον*), probably much like Diocletian's *argenteus* (*ibid.* p. 9), with which there might be a verbal equivalence also.

I think that no conclusion about the cost of postage could be drawn even if we could identify the coins, because it is not clear whether two ἄργυρα would cover all the charges for materials, services of a scribe and carriage. The writer obviously implies that it was cheap.

12 [.] [.] . . . The calculation requires *ταλάντων μυριάς α' καὶ μυρ(ιάδες δραχμῶν) ψλ*, but I have not understood how *ταλάντων μυριάς* was written. It was not as below in line 17. The third trace from the end may be a δ, suggesting perhaps an oblique case of *μυριάς*.

14 κενδ( ). Also in Pap. Lugd. Bat. xi 1. 19.

<sup>1</sup> A new possibility is suggested by P. Yale 79, where *κατρός* is applied to coins. Here it may agree with ἄργυρα, with the implication that the money spent on the letter need not even be in good coin.

τέφω. Perhaps = γε, v. Tabachovitz, *Études*, pp. 70 seqq.

15 μάδια. Cf. P. Teb. 314. 18 n., P. Cair. Isid. 71. 12 n.

18 ἐν. Cf. P. Amh. 143. 5 (p. 175) τροφία οὐκ ἐν τοῖς βόεσ.

20 ὀμφακηρά. See 1870 12–13 n. and P. Abinn. 31. 13 n. πρωτ(έου). If this is right the order of words is odd.

23 δης. Equals δῶς, cf. 2599 34 n.

25 The meaning of this sentence is very much obscured by the lack of grammatical accuracy. The readings are clear. *ἐστάκαται*: according to Mayser I<sup>2</sup> ii, p. 147, *ἐστάκα* is only used transitively, cf. Moulton-Howard, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, p. 241. *κοι καὶ Ἰωάννου*: it seems that the cases should be the same. *εἰτας* requires correction; *εἰτα{c}* seems simplest, but is hard to translate unless it turns the statement into a question. Read perhaps *ἐστάκατε ἐδ καὶ Ἰωάννης εἰτα κεφαλαιωτάς*, 'you and John have appointed headmen again', but it seems more likely that they were appointed than that they made the appointment. For *κεφαλαιωταί* see Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 225 seqq.

27 εἶδη. This appears to refer to types of container, which were also measures of capacity; cf. *CPR* 232. 11 seq. ἀντητικόν [κ]άδον καὶ ἔτε[ρον] εἶδος χάλκεον; P. Masp. 67006 ii 45, 59, 86—χαλκωμάτων ἐν διαφόροις εἶδεσιν ἐσκευασμένων—shows how the usage arose. It is not quite clear whether the containers are filled or not. If so, the contents may be wine.

29 λί(τρα?) χωρικά ἢ λί(τρα?) πρ( ). The neuter form *λίτρον* is known from P. Fay. 331 verso *λίτρον ὑγροῦ*, where it appears to be a liquid measure. Compare PSI 837. 8 for *χωρικόν* and a neuter version of *λίτρα*—τὸ Μενδήσιον *λίτρον*. The unresolved abbreviation seems to be a monogram of πρ, or possibly π with a long vertical intersecting it.

The *κόγχισμα* appears to be new, cf. *κόγχη* (Hultsch, *Metrologie*, p. 636) and *κόγγιον* (*ibid.* p. 118).

30 ἀφηκες. Apparently for ἄφες. The punctuation in this line and the following is uncertain. BGU 1078. 7 ἀργόν . . . καθῆσθαι, cf. P. Brem. 13. 5, suggests a stop before ἀργῶς (perhaps read ἀργός). The next stop may belong before *μόνος* rather than after it.

32 καλυθῆναι. Simply 'to stir'; cf. PSI 299. 4 κατεσχέθην νόσω, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι καλυέσθαι. *αγορασται. ἡγόρασται* seems closest, but *ἀγοράζεται* may be intended.

33 . . . The doubtful figure is a rounded one. If the ounce is the same size in both cases, the proportion of the prices (20/25) suggests ις; ις is a possibility, also perhaps ιδ.

34 seq. τὸ κόνχιζμα τῶν α' δε''. I have not understood this or the perhaps related expression in 35 seq. τὸ χάλκωμα τοῦ α' κεδ( )—or κεδι( ). Possible explanations of α' are (ἐνός), (πρώτου), (πρότερον), and α(ὑποῦ).

35 τὸ αρ.ον. The doubtful letter appears to be γ or τ, but I have not found a receptacle or measure so spelt. Perhaps compare Coptic *ορτων* P. Lond. 1631 v 3, with note on ii 2; perhaps also PSI 837. 7 τὸ ἀργόν δεσμίδιον.

μυρ( ) ν' καὶ νβ'. The two prices for this measure alone are puzzling.

37 καταπλου. New. Possibly = *καθάπλωμα*.

τὸ νομιζμάτιον . . . μυρ( ) ψλ'. There are still too few exchange rates of this kind to establish the date at all closely. It should be well within the fourth century, cf. 1223 31 seqq.

40 ἐκξουσίαν. The sense is perhaps, 'If you wish to send (me a letter), (you will find)'—or 'you have', or the like—'an opportunity'. The last half-dozen letters are badly rubbed.

## 2730. LETTER FROM HORION

9 × 14.4 cm.

Fourth century

An incoherent letter whose matter is of some interest. A water-wheel has been stolen; Horion suspects the village police of wilful negligence, and

asks Heraclius to send down an order for their arrest 'at the petition of Sarapion the *gymnasiarch*' ; he himself will escort them (to Oxyrhynchus). The local police, that is, could be held responsible for their negligence and taken into custody for questioning : the same situation in P. Gron. p. 53 (and cp. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 267). Sarapion no doubt owned the estate from which the wheel had been stolen, Horion was his agent. What is remarkable is the procedure. Normally the official addressed (perhaps the *strategus*) would answer Sarapion's petition with an order-to-arrest sent to the police. Here the agent applies privately to a minor official, whose superior is to seal a warrant authorizing the agent to arrest the police. A tribute to the *gymnasiarch's* influence.

Ὠρίων Ἡρακλίω  
τῷ φιλάτῳ χαίρειν.  
τιπλωμάτιον σφραγι-  
κάτω μοι ἐπὶ τοὺς δημο-  
5 κύου τῆς Ἐντείεως ἐπὶ  
ἐκλέπη μηχανῆν ἡ-  
μῶν ἐν ἀγρῷ τὸν παιδιο-  
φύλακα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς  
ἱρήνης καὶ τὸν ἀρχέφω-  
10 τον ἐντυχόντος Σαραπί-  
ων γυμνασιάρχου ἵνα  
ἀνεγέγκω αὐτοὺς τῇ ἰ  
δεκάτῃ ἐμοῦ ἀνερχω-  
μένου μεληκάτω σοι δέ,  
15 ἐπὶ ἱκανῶς καταφρονου-  
σι τῆς οἰκίας ἡμῶν ἐν  
παντὶ πράγμα μᾶλλον  
τοῦτον τὸν ἀρχέφωδον.  
ἔπεμψα τὸν κύτον διὰ  
20 Πέκυσι ὀνηλάτη.  
ἐρρῶσθαι εὐχομαι.

3. l. διπλ-. 5. l. ἐπεί. 6. l. μηχανῆ. 7. l. παιδιο-. 8. -φύλακα : κ  
corrected ; final α inserted above line. 9-10. l. ἀρχέφωδον. 10-11. l. Σαραπίωνος.  
11. ἵνα. 13. l. ἀνερχο-. 15. ἱκανως. l. ἐπεί. 17. l. πράγματι. 17-18. l. μᾶλλον  
οὗτος ὁ ἀρχέφωδος ? 18. -φωδον : δ corrected from τ. 20. l. Πέκυσι ὀνηλάτην.

'Horion to his very dear Heraclius, greetings. Let him seal me a warrant against the authorities of Enteis (since a water-wheel of ours has been stolen in the country)—the estate-guard and the officers of the peace and the head-policeman—on the petition of Sarapion the *gymnasiarch*, so that I can bring them up on the tenth when I come up. See to it, since they have contempt enough for our house in every matter, especially this head-policeman. I have sent the corn by Pekysis the donkey-driver. I pray for your health.'

3 τιπλωμάτιον : δίπλωμα may be any official paper, here no doubt an order-to-arrest (the characteristic formula ἐντυχόντος . . . in 10-11). The diminutive does not appear in the *WB* or in *LSJ*.

σφραγι|κάτω : the surviving orders-to-arrest sometimes carry a seal, see 2576 introduction. The subject of the imperative is not made explicit : very probably the *strategus*.

4-10 δημο|κύου : on the village authorities see P. Achmim, pp. 61 seqq.—the lists include πρεσβύτεροι, ἀρχέφωδοι and various other police officials. *Presbyteri* were probably extinct in the fourth century (J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, p. 134 n. 6) : so it is not clear whether Horion enumerates all the δημόσιοι in 7 seqq. or merely specifies some of them. In normal circumstances (e.g. P. Cair. Isid. 129. 2) the δημόσιοι carry out arrests ; here they are arrested, as perhaps at P. Abinn. 29. 11.

5 Ἐντείεως : in the Upper Toparchy, 1659 15 note.

17-18 I have translated this on the assumption that τοῦτον τὸν ἀρχέφωδον is a mistake for the nominative. But it may be better to put a stop before μάλ(λ)ον, assuming that the accusative construction is resumed from 7-10.

*Verso*. A single line by a different hand. I cannot decipher it.

## 2731. LETTER FROM MAXIMUS

18.8 × 26.9 cm.

Fourth/fifth century

A letter of remonstrance, written on thick and coarse papyrus in an elongated, slap-dash cursive.

τῇ κυρία μου μητρὶ Ζηνοβία  
Μάξιμος ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ θ(ε)ῶ χαίρειν.  
καὶ νῦν κατ' εὐχὴν συμβέβηκεν εὐπορεῖ[ν  
τοῦ προσερχομένου καὶ τὴν σὴν  
5 ἀμίμητον διάθεσιν προσειπεῖν.  
πρόσειπε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν σύμβιον μου  
Σαλαμάει· ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ μήτηρ μ[ου  
'Ρουφίνα· πρόσειπε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἀδελ-  
φούς μου κατ' ὄνομα· ἄπαξ καὶ δις  
10 καὶ τρίς ἐδήλωσά σου τοῦ σε ἀποστελλ[αι  
τὴν σύμβιον 'μου' καὶ οὐκ ἐβουλήθη· νῦν δέ  
μὴ ἀμελήσης νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας  
τοῦ σε ἀποστελλᾶί με τὴν σύμβιον μ[ου.

κλέος γάρ {γαρ} μου ἔστιν καὶ ε . δ . ξι . [ ]  
 15 τοῦ με παρῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· πάλαι μ[ἐν  
 καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖται ὅτι ὁ κύριός μο[υ  
 πραιπόσιτος 'οὐκ' ἀπολύει οὐδένα· π[αρα-  
 κλω δέ, ἀντιγράψατέ μοι ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶ[ν  
 ὑγείας ἵνα ὑπερθέμενος εὐθυμῆς . . [ ]  
 20 προσαγορεύω πάντας τοὺς ἡδέως ὑμᾶς  
 ἔχοντας κατ' ὄνομα. ἐρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς  
 εὐχομαι πολ[λοῖς  
 χρόνοις.

(Verso, along the fibres) . . [ . ] . [ . ] Ζηνοβία παρὰ Μαξίμου [ . . ] . .

25 χαίρειν.

2. εν κω θω. 7. ὑμας. 9. κατ'. 10. c of ce written over μ. 15. ὑμας.  
 16. ὑμεις. 1. ἀγνοεῖτε. 18. ὑπερ, ὑμω[ν]. 19. ἵνα, ὑπερ-. 20. ὑμας. 21. κατ'.  
 Verso. 25. χ of χαίρειν written over υἱ (υἱοῦ).

'To my lady mother Zenobia, Maximus, greetings in the lord God. Now at last I have the opportunity which I have prayed for of finding someone who is visiting you and of greeting your inimitable disposition. Greet my wife Salamai from me. My mother Rufina sends her best wishes to you. Greet my brothers from me, each by name. Once, twice, three times I have told you to send my wife, and you have refused. Well now exert yourself night and day to send my wife. For . . . of my visiting you. You too have known for a long time that my lord the *praepositus* is not releasing anyone. I implore you, write back to me about your health so that my heart may be lightened without delay (?). I greet all those who love you, each by name. I pray you may have good health for many years.'

9-10 ἀπαξ καὶ δις καὶ τρις: this phrase probably belongs with ἐδήλωσα, not with πρόσ-ειπε (8). Cf. SB 9013. 4 ἐδήλωσά σοι ἀπαξ καὶ δεύτερον κ.τ.λ.

14 κλέος: the first letter is κ, rather than ε; unless the word continued from line 13, κλέος seems inevitable, however unexpected. Cf. perhaps 2407 53-4 τοῦτό μοι [ἐ]παινος καὶ κλέος ἐστ[ί]ν, [πλέ]ον [ἐξέ]υρε[ί]ν κ.τ.λ. After ἐστω, καὶ is fairly clear. At the end the traces suggest -δοξία; before δ, a malformed letter which comes closest to γ. εὐδοξία would suppose an anomalous hypsilon. The sentence probably ended with πρὸς ὑμᾶς in 15: for πάλαι μὲν cf. 1593 9; the trace is against πάλαι ἀλλά. The general drift may be: 'I glory in visiting you, but you know that I can't get away'. But, as Turner remarks, τοῦ μὴ παρῆναι or τοῦ <μῆ> με παρῆναι makes easier sense: 'my good name depends on my staying here and not visiting you'. (The alternative 'She is my pride and joy. As for my visiting you . . .' makes a difficult construction.) Cf. SB 9286. 5-6 χαρὰ καὶ δόξα μου γίνεταί μαθὼν τὴν ὑγίαιαν ὑμῶν πάντων.

19 ὑπερθέμενος is odd: a variant of the common πάντα ὑπερθέμενος? (But it cannot apply to Zenobia unless the genders are muddled.) At the end perhaps εὐθυμῆσθαι (for the middle cf. P. Herm. Rees 5. 29).

## 2732. BUSINESS LETTER

30 × 25 cm.

Sixth century (?)

This Byzantine business letter mentions places in the Delta and was probably sent from there to Oxyrhynchus sometime in the sixth century. To judge from the vulgar Greek the writer was not of very high rank but he delivered a letter to a tribune and wanted his information to reach a certain count.

↓

Π( )

πάραυτα τοῦ ἀπαντήσέ με ἐπὶ τῆς Πηλουσιωτῶν τὰ γράμματα τῆς  
 ὑμετέρας μεγαλοπρεπείας π[α]ρεσχόμεν τῷ τριβούνῳ Ἀφθονίῳ καὶ ταῦτα  
 ἀναγνοὺς ἔφερον λέγων ὅτι ὅλα τὰ κελλαρικὰ εἰς πλήρες εἰς . . . εδε[ξ]άμην·  
 5 ὡς δὲ νομίζω ὅτι καὶ τὸ βουκελάτον καὶ τὰ τ[α]ρχηρὰ καὶ ἄλλα τ[ι]νὰ ἐφανί-  
 θησαν καὶ θεὸς μόνος οἶδεν ὅτι πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐζήτησα [α] αὐτὰ γομῶσε εἰς πλοῖον  
 καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπερασθῆναι αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν τούτου χάριν οὐκ ἀπέστειλα.  
 ἢ οὖν δοκί τῆ[ν] αὐτοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεία[ν] ἀποστῆτε εἰδικὸν ἄνθρωπον ἑαυτοῦ  
 ταῦτα πάραυτα παρέχω· εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος Ἀφθόνιος ὅτι ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ ναῦλα  
 τοῦ πλοίου παρέχω·  
 10 ἢ οὖν δοκί τῷ ὑμετέρῳ μεγέθι πέμψε τινα τῶν πέδων ταῦτα ἀποστέλλετε· προσ-  
 κυνῆ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ τὴν ὑμετέραν μεγαλοπρέπια· περὶ δὲ τοῦ φίλου παρασχ(ηκ)ῶς  
 αὐτῷ τὰ γράμματα ἀνέγνω καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδὲν χρεοστῶ· εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ  
 κύριος  
 Θεόγνωστος καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδὲν χρεοστῶ· ἐπιδή δὲ ἐν τῷ ζεύ(γ)ματι ἦμεν, εἶπεν  
 ὅτι εἰς Θεμοῦεν τὸν λόγον πυῶ τῆς εἰς ἀρετῆς οὐδὲς δὲ τέως παρήρθη ἀπὸ τῆς  
 πα'νευ'δέ-  
 15 μωνος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως· ἢ δὲ ἔλθη τις περιεργάζωμε τὰ κατὰ τὸν κύριον τὸν  
 κόμητα  
 καὶ γράφω τῷ ὑμετέρῳ μεγέθι· ἐλπὶ ζῶ δὲ εἰς τὸν δεσπότην θεὸν ὅτι μετὰ  
 χαριᾶς ἔρχεστε·  
 αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσανάνηκον τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ κόμητι.

Back

↔ † ἐπιδ(ός) τῷ δεσπότη μου δια . . . .

2. 1. ἀπαντήσαι. 3. 1. μεγαλοπρεπείας. 4. 1. ἔφερον. 5. 1. βουκελλάτον, τρι-  
 χηρὰ, ἠφανίσθησαν. 6. 1. γομῶσαι. 7. 1. ἐπερασθῆναι, ἀπέστειλα. 8. 1. εἰ, δοκεῖ,

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μεγαλοπρεπεία, ἀποστείλαι, ἰδικόν. 9. κϝ pap. 1. Ἀφθόνιος. 10. 1. εἰ, δοκεῖ, μεγέθει, πέμψαι, παίδων, ἀποστέλλεται, προσκινεῖ. 11. 1. μεγαλοπρέπειαν. 12. 1. ἀέγνω, χρεωστῶ, κύριος. 13. 1. χρεωστῶ, ἐπειδή. 14. 1. Θμοῦν, ποιῶ, οὐδεὶς, παρήλθεν, πανευδαίμονος. 15. 1. Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, εἰ, περιεργάζομαι, κύριον. 16. 1. μεγέθει, χαρᾶς, ἔρχεται. 17. 1. προσανέγκον, κόμετι.

‘Immediately upon (?) my arrival in Pelusium I delivered your Excellency’s letter to the tribune Aphthonius and after reading it he spoke, saying, “I received all the stores in full. . . . But since I believe that the biscuit and the salt fish and other goods disappeared and God alone knows that I tried long ago to load them on a boat, and it was for this reason—so that they should not be set upon by the sailors—that I did not send them off. So if his Excellency pleases to send a man of his own I shall hand over these goods immediately.” And the lord Aphthonius said, “I shall pay the freight charges of the boat also”. So if it pleases your Highness to send one of the slaves, these goods shall be sent off. The same man pays his respects to your Excellency.

‘As for your friend, when I delivered the letter he read it and said, “I owe nothing”. And the lord Theognostus spoke to him too and he said, “I owe nothing”. But when we were in the lock, he said, “At Thmouis I shall settle accounts with your Honour”.

‘So far (?) no-one has arrived from the all-happy city of Constantinople. If anyone comes I shall ask for news of the affairs of the lord the count, and write to your Highness. And I hope in the lord God that you (?) walk in joy. Report these same things to the lord the count.’

2 παράγω τοῦ ἀπαντήσαι με. A very rare usage, to judge from the single reference in LSJ, but the traces seem to suit.

4 ἔφεσεν=ἔφησεν. Cf. P. Masp. 67087. 11 for ἔφησα=ἔφη; cf. P. Gen. 76. 11 for ἔφη λέγων; cf. Mayser I, p. 64 for ε=η.

5 βουκ(κ)ελ(λ)ᾶτον. Not in *WB*; v. Sophocles, *Lexicon*. The meaning and the grammar of this sentence are not clear. ἀντά (6) apparently refers not to βουκελλάτον etc., but further back to κελλαρικά. The grammar is slightly improved by omitting the καί at the beginning of line 7, but the expression is still confused. I think the direct speech of Aphthonius continues to the first παρέχω in line 9.

12 ανεγνωι. This seems to contain a substitution of -οι for -ω, taken over from the phenomenon familiar in the subjunctive (cf. P. Mich. 510. 24 n.), and therefore I suppose ἀνέγνω, rather than ἀνέγνων, is meant, even though παρασχ(ηκ)ῶς then has to be taken as a nominative absolute.

13 ζεύ(γ)μασι. Mr. Skeat suggests that the reference might be to Zeugma on the Euphrates.

14 τέως. Possibly not temporal, but simply the equivalent of *quidem* or *certe*, cf. Tabachovitz, *Études*, pp. 70 ff.

15 ἡ δὲ ἔθθη τις. Cf. Horn, *The Subjunctive*, p. 64.

περιεργάζομαι. Cf. Tabachovitz, *Études*, pp. 69 f. for the meaning ‘enquire’, ‘ask for news’.

16 ἔρχετε. The subject is probably τὸ ὑμέτερον μέγεθος, but just possibly ὁ κύριος ὁ κόμης.

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(The figures 26 are to be supplied before 85–99, the figures 27 before 00–32. Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or partly supplied from other sources or by conjecture. A word completely restored in this way is not indexed if it supplements a literary text. If it supplements a document it may be indexed. The article is not indexed.)

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## CLAUDIUS

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός Γερμανικός Αὐτοκράτωρ (A.D. 41-54) 20 1, 10

## VESPASIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Οὐεσπασιανός Σεβαστός (ἔτ. γ) 25 22

## TITUS

ὁ κύριος Καῖσαρ (3 Vespasian) 25 18

## ANTONINUS PIUS

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Ἀντωνίνος Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος (ἔτ.) κ' 22 15, 60

## SEVERUS, CARACALLA AND GETA

Αὐτοκράτορες Καῖσαρες Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβής Περτίναξ Ἀραβικός Ἀδιαβητικός Παρθικός  
Μέγιστος καὶ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσεβής Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Πούβλιος Σεπτίμιος Γέτα Καῖσαρ  
Σεβαστός 09 20-7

## SEVERUS ALEXANDER

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἀλέξανδρος, εὐσεβής, εὐτυχής, σεβαστός. ἔτ. ιδ' 21  
38-42  
θεροῦ? Ἀλεξάνδρον 05 1

## VALERIUS AND GALLIENUS

Αὐτοκράτορες Καῖσαρες Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Οὐαλεριανός καὶ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Οὐαλεριανός Γαλληγνός  
Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχεῖς Σεβαστοὶ (ἔτ. δ) 14 22-5

## GALLIENUS

Θεὸς Γαλληγνός (ἔτ. ιδ) 11 8

## MACRIANUS AND QUIETUS

Κύριοι ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορες Μακριανός καὶ Κυήτος 10 8

## DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN

ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ Διοκλητιανός καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ Μαξιμιανός (ἔτ. η' and ζ') 04  
15-17  
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Γαῖος Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Διοκλητιανός καὶ Αὐτ. Καῖς. Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος  
Μαξιμιανός Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος, Εὐσεβεῖς, Εὐτυχεῖς, Σεβαστοὶ (ἔτ. θ' and ἔτ. η') 12 25-7  
οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανός καὶ Μαξιμιανός Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Κωνσταντῖος καὶ Μαξιμιανός οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι  
Καῖσαρες (ἔτ. ια, [ι, γ]) 17 3-6  
(ἔτους) ιθ καὶ ιη καὶ ια 16 3

## III. CONSULS

κύριοι ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορες Μακριανῶ τὸ β' καὶ Κυήτῳ [τὸ ] (A.D. 261) 10 8  
ὑπατείας Φλ. Ὀνωρίου τοῦ ἐπιφανέστατου καὶ Φλ. Εὐδοκίου (A.D. 386) 15 1-2  
μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαουίαν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ῥούφου τῶν λαμπροτάτων (A.D. 458) 18 1-2  
ὑπατία Φλ(αουίαν) Ζήνωνος καὶ Μαρκιανῶ τῶν λαμπροτάτων (A.D. 469) 24 1

## IV. ERAS AND INDICATIONS

## ERAS OF OXYRRHYNCHUS

ἔτος ξγ' λβ' (A.D. 385/6) **15** 13

## INDICTIONS

ἰνδ. η' (A.D. 469) **24** 2, 17

ἰνδ. ιε' (A.D. 386) **15** 15

## V. MONTHS

Ἀθύρ **21** 12  
Γερμανικεῖος (-κηου παρ.) **25** 23  
Ἐπαγόμηναι **15** 11  
Θώθ **14** 25 **15** 2, 11

Καικάριος **20** 1, [10]  
Μεσορή **15** 11 **28** 22, 26  
Μεχέρ **04** 18 **05** 13 **09** 27  
Παῦνι **18** 2 **28** 19

Παχών **10** 9 **28** 18  
Φαμενώθ **05** 1 **22** 14, 59  
Φαρμοῦθι **08** 19 **22** 13, 52, 57  
Φαῶφι **21** 42 **24** 2, [16]

## VI. PERSONAL NAMES

(br. = brother ; d. = daughter ; f. = father ; gd.-d. = grand-daughter ; gd.f. = grandfather ;  
gd.s. = grandson ; h. = husband ; m. = mother ; s. = son ; si. = sister ; w. = wife)

Ἀβάνης **29** 10, 14  
Ἀβραάμ, Aur., s. of Martyrius,  
ironsmith **18** 4, 15, [22]  
Αἰμιλιανός. See Μούσειδς  
Ἀκύλας. See Κουβατιανός  
Ἀκύλειος **29** 1, 42  
Ἀλύπιος, f. of Aur. Herminus  
**18** 19  
Ἀμενεύς, f. of Thais **20** 2, 12  
Ἀμμιανός. See Στατίλιος  
Ἄμμων **17** 10, 14  
Ἀμμωνιανός. See Διόσκορος  
Ἀμμώνιος [25 15]  
Ἀμμώνιος, f. of Pekysis **14** 16  
Ἀμμώνιος, Marcus Aurelius  
*alias* Gemeinas **23** 5  
Ἄμοις **27** 4  
Ἄμως **29** 39  
Ἀνδροθένης, *alias* Rufus, *str.*  
Oxy. **09** 1  
Ἀνίκητος, *alias* Ῥέμμιος **11** 5  
Ἀνίκητος, f. of Aur. Horion **11**  
2  
Ἄνοθ **29** 39  
Ἀντίνοος, Aur., s. of Hermias  
**21** 4, 8, 21, 35, 43  
Ἀντίωχος, Aur., s. of Doro-  
theus **15** 18

Ἄπις **22** 25  
Ἄπιων, f. of Demarion, s. of  
Dorion and Cleuparous **09**  
3, 6, 28, 29  
Ἀπολλωνία, Aur., *alias* Harpo-  
cratiaena, d. of Publius  
and Apollonia, ἀκτή **23** 2,  
3, 6, 13, 17, 22  
Ἀπολλωνία, m. of Aur. Apol-  
lonia *alias* Harpocratiaena  
**23** 4  
Ἀπολλώνιος **27** 7  
Ἀπολλώνιος, f. of Dionysius  
*alias* Sarapion **09** 9  
Ἀπφοῦς, Aur., s. of Didymus,  
ironsmith **18** 5, 16, 22  
Ἀρίστιος Ὀππάτος, *praef. Aeg.*  
**13** 1  
Ἀρποκρατίανα. See Ἀπολλωνία  
Ἀσκληπιάδης, Aur., ex-*hygro-*  
*mmematographus*, deputy  
*strategus* **12** 1  
Ἄτρης, f. of Hatres **20** 7  
Ἄτρης, s. of Hatres and  
Heraclous **20** 7, 14  
Ἀρρηλία. See Ἀπολλωνία, Δι-  
δύμη, Διοσκουρίανα, Εἰδαί-  
μονίς, Ἡράς, Θαῆς

Ἀρρήλιος. See Ἀβραάμ, Ἀμμώ-  
νιος, Ἀντίωχος, Ἀπφοῦς, Ἀσ-  
κληπιάδης, Ἐρμίνος, Ἡράς,  
Θῶνις, Ἰωάννης, Μουχῆς,  
Παγῶνις, Πασοήρις, Παταῦ-  
ρις, Πετρώνιος, Πτολλίων,  
Ῥέμμιος, Καβίνος, Καμονήλ,  
Καραπάμμων, Κερήνος, Χαί-  
ρήμων, Ὠρίων  
Ἀφθόνιος, tribune **32** 3, 9

Βάρβαρος, f. of Aur. Ptollion **21**  
2  
Βάρος **27** 1

Γαῖος. See Καλπούριος  
Γεμενῆς. See Ἀμμώνιος  
Γερόντιος **27** 20

Δημάριον, d. of Apion and  
Helena, gd.-d. of Dorion  
**09** 3, 28

Διδύμη, Aurelia, d. of Didymus  
**13** 2, 27

Διδύμιος **28** 15

Δίδυμος, bank of **26** 24

Δίδυμος, f. of Aur. Apphous **18**  
5, 16

Διδυμος, f. of Aurelia Didyme  
**13** 2

Διογᾶς **25** 10, 12

Διογᾶς, f. of Plution **14** 15

Διογένης, ex-chief priest of  
Oxy., f. of Aur. Chaere-  
mon **10** 7

Διονύσιος **25** 8

Διονύσιος, *alias* Sarapion, s. of  
Apollonius and Sinthonis  
**09** 9

Διόσκορος **29** 16, 26

Διόσκορος, *alias* Ammonianus,  
ex-*hygrommetatographus*,  
f. of Aurelia Dioscuriaena  
**12** 4

Διόσκορος, f. of Theon, Dios-  
corus, and Plutarche **13** 5

Διόσκορος, s. of Dioscorus **13** 5

Διοσκουρίανα, Aurelia, *matrona*  
*stolata*, d. of Dioscorus  
*alias* Ammonianus ex-  
*hygrommetatographus* **12** 3,  
28

Διοσκουρίδης **29** 1, 41

Διοσκουρίδης, goldsmith **27** 23

Δωρίων, gd.f. of Demarion **09**  
3, 6, 29

Δωρόθεος, f. of Aur. Antiochus  
**15** 18

Ἐλένη **29** 39

Ἐλένη, m. of Demarion **09** 4

Ἐλένη, m. of Telemachus **14** 9

Ἐρεντιανός. See Κλαύδιος

Ἐρμής, s. of Dionysius and  
Demarion **09** 15

Ἐρμίας, f. of Aur. Antinous **21** 4

Ἐρμίνος, Aur., s. of Alypius  
**18** 19

Εἰδαμονίς, Aurelia, d. of Ani-  
cetus *alias* Remmius **11** 6

Εὐλόγιος **27** 1

Ζηνοβία **31** 1, 24

Ἡλίας, sailor **29** 8

Ἡραῖς, d. of Dionysius and  
Demarion **09** 15

Ἡρακλᾶς, called Ischas, the  
secretary of Sirion **25** 6

Ἡρακλείδης, νομογραφεῖον of **26**  
27

Ἡρακλῆος, f. of Patas **14** 10

Ἡράκλιος **30** 1

Ἡρακλοῦς, m. of Hatres, si. of  
Thais, d. of Amenneus **20**  
[7], 14

Ἡρακλοῦς, m. of Plution **14** 15

Ἡράς, Aurelia, d. of Castor  
and Syra **10** 4

Ἡράς, Aur., s. of Heras **21** 2

Ἡράς, f. of Aur. Heras **21** 2

Ἡράς, f. of Horigenes **29** 20

Ἡρων, βοηθός **17** 13

Ἡσύχιος, Φλ., *logistes* **15** 3

Ἡφαιστᾶς, f. of Thonis, s. of  
Psenephthas **22**, 5, 17, 22,  
42, 54, 64, verso

Ἡφαιστῖων, *alias* Sarapion **26**  
2, 36

Θαῆς, Aur., m. of Aur.  
Remmius and Aurelia  
Eudaemonis [**11** 10]

Θαῖς, d. of Amenneus **20** 2, 12

Θεόγνωστος **32** 13

Θεόδωρος **27** 8

Θεόδωρος, bishop **29** 8

Θεόμνηστος, s. of Horus **08** 3

Θέων, cobbler **27** 19

Θέων, f. of Aur. Mouses **15** 4

Θέων, f. of Sarapammon **24** 23

Θέων, s. of Dioscorus **13** 5

Θοῶνις, h. of Thais, d. of A-  
menneus **20** 3, 13

Θῶνις, Aur. **13** 28

Θῶνις, s. of Hephaestas and  
Taseus, gd.s. of Psenep-  
hthas **22** 4, 17, 42, 54

Θῶνις, s. of Psenephthas, gd.-  
s. of Psenephthas **22** 2,  
52, verso

Ἰέραξ, bank of **22** 8

Ἰούλιος Τίτιος (νόμος) **10** 6

Ἰσχάς **25** 6, 9

Ἰωάννης **29** 25

Ἰωάννης, Aur., s. of Cornelius,  
ironsmith **18** 6, 16, 22

Ἰωάννης, Aur., s. of Phoebam-  
mon **24** 5, 21

Καλπούριος Γαῖος, f. of Lucius  
Calpurnius Firmus **23** 1, 7,  
12, 17

Καλπούριος Πετρωνιανός, ὁ ἀξι-  
ολογώτατος ἑναρχος ἀρχιδι-  
καστής **05** 3, 14

—, ἱερεὺς ἀρχιδικαστῆς καὶ πρὸς  
τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματι-  
στῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτη-  
ρίων **06** 1-5

Καλπούριος, Λούκιος Κ. Φέρμιος,  
s. of Calpurnius Gaius **23**  
7, 19

Καπιτωλῖνος [**28** 1]

Κάτωρ, f. of Aurelia Heras **10** 4

Κάτωρ, s. of Telemachus and  
Tauris **14** 13

Κεφάλων, s. of Papontos and  
Taharphocras **14** 17

Κλαύδιος Ἐρεντιανός, *juridicus*  
and deputy-prefect **05** 2

Κλευπαροῦς, m. of Apion **09** 7

Κολλαῦχις, m. of Pettiris **14** 18

Κορνήλιος, f. of Aur. Iohannes  
**18** 6, 16

Κορνήλιος, f. of Aur. Pasoeris  
**24** 5, 21

Κορνήλιος, f. of Salpon **12** 5

Κυρία, Flavia **24** 3

Λευκάδιος [**18** 3]

Λούκιος. See Καλπούριος, Μούσ-  
κιος

Μάξιμος **16** 4 **31** 2, 24

Μάρκος. See Ἀμμώνιος

Μαρτιάλλιος **22** 9

Μαρτύριος, f. of Aur. Abraham  
**18** [5], 15

Μέμμιος Ῥοσφός, *rationalis* **17** 9

Μεταῖς, f. of Pettiris **14** 18

Μουχῆς, Aur., s. of Theon, *sy-*  
*states* **15** 4, 20

Μούσειος, Λούκιος Μ. Αἰμιλιανός,  
*praef. Aeg.* **10** 3

Ὀνοράτος. See Τίτιος

Ὀππάτος. See Ἀρίστιος

Παγῶνις, Aur., s. of Pa...  
*comarch* **14** 3, 25

Πανεχώτης 26 1  
 Πανής 08 25  
 Παποντώς, f. of Cephalon 14 17  
 Πακοήρις, Aur., s. of Cornelius 24 5, 20  
 Πατάρχης, s. of Pekysis and Plutarche 14 12  
 Πατάς, s. of Heracleus and Tarkathis, *comarch* 14 10  
 Παταύρις, Aur., s. of Saras 14 3, 25  
 Πεκδεις, donkey-driver 30 20  
 Πεκδεις, f. of Patarches 14 12  
 Πεκδεις, s. of Ammonius and Tamunis 14 16  
 Πεπεμοδνις, s. of Pisais 08 8  
 Πετρόνιος, Aur., deputy *strategus* 14 2  
 Πέττρις, s. of Metais and Collauchis 14 18  
 Πίσις, f. of Petemounis 08 8  
 Πλουτάρχη, d. of Dioscorus, m. of Aurelia Didyme 13 5  
 Πλουτάρχη, m. of Patarches 14 12  
 Πλουτάρχη, m. of Saion 14 19  
 Πλουτίων, f. of Aur. 14 26  
 Πλουτίων, s. of Diogas and Heraclous 14 15  
 Πούπιλος, f. of Aur. Apollonia *alias* Harpocratiaena 23 3, 4  
 Πτολλίων, Aur., s. of Barbarus 21 1, 7  
 Ρέμμιος, Aur., s. of Anicetus *alias* Remmius 11 5  
 Ρέμμιος. See Ανίκητος  
 Ρουπίλιος Φήλιξ, *praef. Aeg.* 12 13  
 Ρουφίνα 31 8  
 Ρούφος 19 1

Ρούφος. See Άνδροσθένης, Μέμμιος  
 Καβίνος, Aur., *str. Oxy.* 14 1  
 Καίων, s. of Horus and Plutarche 14 19  
 Καλαμίει 31 7  
 Κάππων, s. of Cornelius 12 5, 21  
 Καμουήλ (or -ήλιος), Aur., s. of Phoebammon, ironsmith 18 6, 16, 22  
 Καννώς, f. of Taesis 08 9  
 Καραπάμμων 28 1  
 Καραπάμμων, Aur., s. of Theon 24 23  
 Καραπίων 22 24  
 Καραπίων, *gymnasiarch* 30 10  
 Καραπίων. See Διονύσιος, Ήφαιστίων  
 Καράς, f. of Aur. Patauris 14 4  
 Καράς, f. of Telemachus 14 9  
 Κενπώθη(ς)? See Τασεμφώθη(ς)?  
 Κερήνος, Aur., s. of Phoebammon, ironsmith 18 5, 15, 22  
 Κωθώνις, m. of Dionysius *alias* Sarapion 09 10  
 Κιρίων 25 6  
 Κουβατιανός Άκύλας ό κράτιστος *επιστράτηγος* 08 1  
 Κπάρακος 25 14  
 Σταύλιος Άμμιανός, *praef. Aeg.* 11 1  
 Κύρα, m. of Aurelia Heras 10 4  
 Κωτάδης 20 19  
 Τααρφοκράς, m. of Cephalon 14 17  
 Ταήσις, d. of Sansnos 08 9  
 Τακαθίς, m. of Patas 14 10  
 Ταμοδνις, m. of Pekysis 14 16  
 Τασεμφώθη(ς)?, *Τασενπώθη(ς)?*

## VII. GEOGRAPHICAL

## (a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, TOPARCHIES, CITIES, ETC.

Αίγυπτος 04 1 10 3 11 1 28 16  
 Άλεξανδρεύς 05 7 23 2

Άρσινόη 05 2  
 Έπτά νομοί 05 2  
 Θηβαίς 20 11 23 3

Θμοδής 32 14  
 Κωνσταντινούπολις 32 15  
 Λίβυς 19 6 ?

(Κενπώθη(ς)?), d. (s.?) of Pseneptas 22 21, 63, verso

Τασεδς, m. of Thonis 22 5  
 Ταύρις, m. of Castor 14 13  
 Τηλέμαχος, f. of Castor 14 13  
 Τηλέμαχος, s. of Saras and Helene, *comarch* 14 9  
 Τέτιος 10 6  
 Τέτιος Όνωράτος, *praef. Aeg.* 04 1

Φήλιξ. See Ρουπίλιος  
 Φιλας- 08 25 ?  
 Φίρμος. See Καλπούριος  
 Φλαουία. See Κυρία  
 Φλαουός. See Ήσύχιος  
 Φοιβάμμων, f. of Aur. Ioannes 24 5, 21  
 Φοιβάμμων, f. of Aur. Samuel 18 6, 16  
 Φοιβάμμων, f. of Aur. Serenus 18 5, 15

Χαιρήμων, Aur., s. of Diogenes 10 6  
 Χωός 29 39  
 Χωσιών, *systates* 17 12, 17

Ψενεφθάς, f. of Hephaestas, gd.f. of Thonis 22 5  
 Ψενεφθάς, f. of Pseneptas, gd.f. of Thonis 22 2, 53  
 Ψενεφθάς, f. of Thonis, s. of Pseneptas 22 4, 52

Όριγένης 28 6, 16, 25  
 Όριγένης, s. of Heras 29 19  
 Όρίων 30 1  
 Όρίων, Aur., s. of Anicetus 11 2  
 Όρος, f. of Saion 14 19  
 Όρος, f. of Theomnestus 08 3  
 Όρος, weaver 20 20

Όξυρυγγίτης (νομός) 09 2 12 2 14 1 15 3 21 24, 33 23 8  
 Όξυρυγγιτών πόλις 11 3 13 3 18 4, 23 23 2 24 4

Όξυρύγγων πόλις 09 4 10 4 14 26 20 2, 6, 11, 18 22 3, 7 23 4  
 Πέρσης τής *επιγονής* 22 4  
 Πηλουσιώται 32 2

Πτολεμαίς 23 3  
 Ρωμαϊκός [10 2]  
 Ρωμαίος 23 4  
 τοπαρχία : κάτω τ. 23 8

## (b) VILLAGES, ETC.

Έντεϊς 30 5  
 Ήβίον Χύσις 12 7  
 Νεσμείμς 21 4

Όξύρυγγα 25 4  
 Πανεύ (εποίκιον) 14 5  
 Κοϊς 23 8

Χαιρά : *εποίκιον* X. 24 6  
 Ψωμεούθς 08 4

## (c) MISCELLANEOUS

Άμφοδον 15 6 (Δρόμος Γυμνασίου) 22 22, 64 (Δεκάτης)  
 βιβλιοθήκη 26 26  
 Δεκάτης 22 22, 64  
 Δρόμος Γυμνασίου 15 5  
 θερμαί (in Hermopolis ?) 19 5

επικόν (?) 25 20  
 κλήρος : Άριστοδήμου κ. 23 8  
 \*νομογραφείον (-φιον pap.) 26 27  
 παρεμβολή 25 19  
 πύλη : ή π. ή *Κεληνιακή* (in Hermopolis ?) 19 2

ρύμη αξα[ 20 6, 18  
 Καραπίων 20 6, 18 22 7 25 20, 20  
 Κεληνιακή. See πύλη  
 Ψώ (μηχανή καλουμένη) 24 9

## VIII. RELIGION, MAGIC, ASTROLOGY, ETC.

άγαθή τύχη 07 1  
 Άθηνά Θεήρις 22 3  
 έπίσκοπος 29 8  
 θεά 22 3  
 θεός (ή) 22 6

θεός 11 8 18 12 21 24 25 11 28 5 29 3 31 2 32 6, 16  
 Θεήρις. See Άθηνά  
 Ιερεύς 06 2  
 πυραϊθς 22 3, 6

Καραπίων 20 6, 18 22 7 25 20, 20  
 Τύχη 19 10 ?

## IX. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

άγνωθετείν 11 2  
 άλωναφύλαξ 14 19  
 άρχέφοδος 30 9, 18  
 άρχιδικαστής 05 3 06 2  
 άρχιερατεύσας 10 7  
 βιβλιοθήκη 26 26  
 βιβλιοθήκη *έγκτήσεων* 22 40  
 βοηθός 17 13  
 βουλευτής 11 2 23 1  
 γραμματεύς πόλεως 09 16  
 γυμνασιάρχος 11 2 23 2 30 11  
 διάδοχος (sc. του στρατηγού) 14 2  
 είρήνη : οι *επι τής ει.* 30 9  
 έπαρχος Αιγύπτου 04 1 10 3 11 1 [13 1]  
*επιστάτης* είρήνης 14 11

*επιστράτηγος* 08 2  
*επιτηρητής* 22 8  
*εθνηιάρχης* 23 1  
*ήγεμονία* 05 12  
*ήγεμών* 11 4 12 13 13 8  
 καθολικός 17 8  
 κεφαλαιωτής 29 25  
 κόμης 32 15, 17  
 κοσμητής 23 1  
 κριτής 08 18, 22, 24  
 κωμάρχης 14 4, 9  
 λειτούργος 14 6  
 λογιστής [15 3]  
 \*νομογραφείον (-φιον pap.) 26 27  
 πεδιοφύλαξ 14 13 30 7  
 πολιτευόμενος 18 3

*πραιπόσιτος* 31 17  
 προστάτης 21 3  
 πρύτανις 23 2  
 στρατηγία 12 2  
 στρατηγός 05 2 09 2 14 1  
 σύγκλητος 10 6  
 συμβολαιογράφος [18 21]  
*ευστάτης* 15 5, 20 17 12, 18  
 τηρητής *κόμης και καρπών* 14 14  
 τριβούνος 32 3  
 ύπατία 15 1 18 1 24 1  
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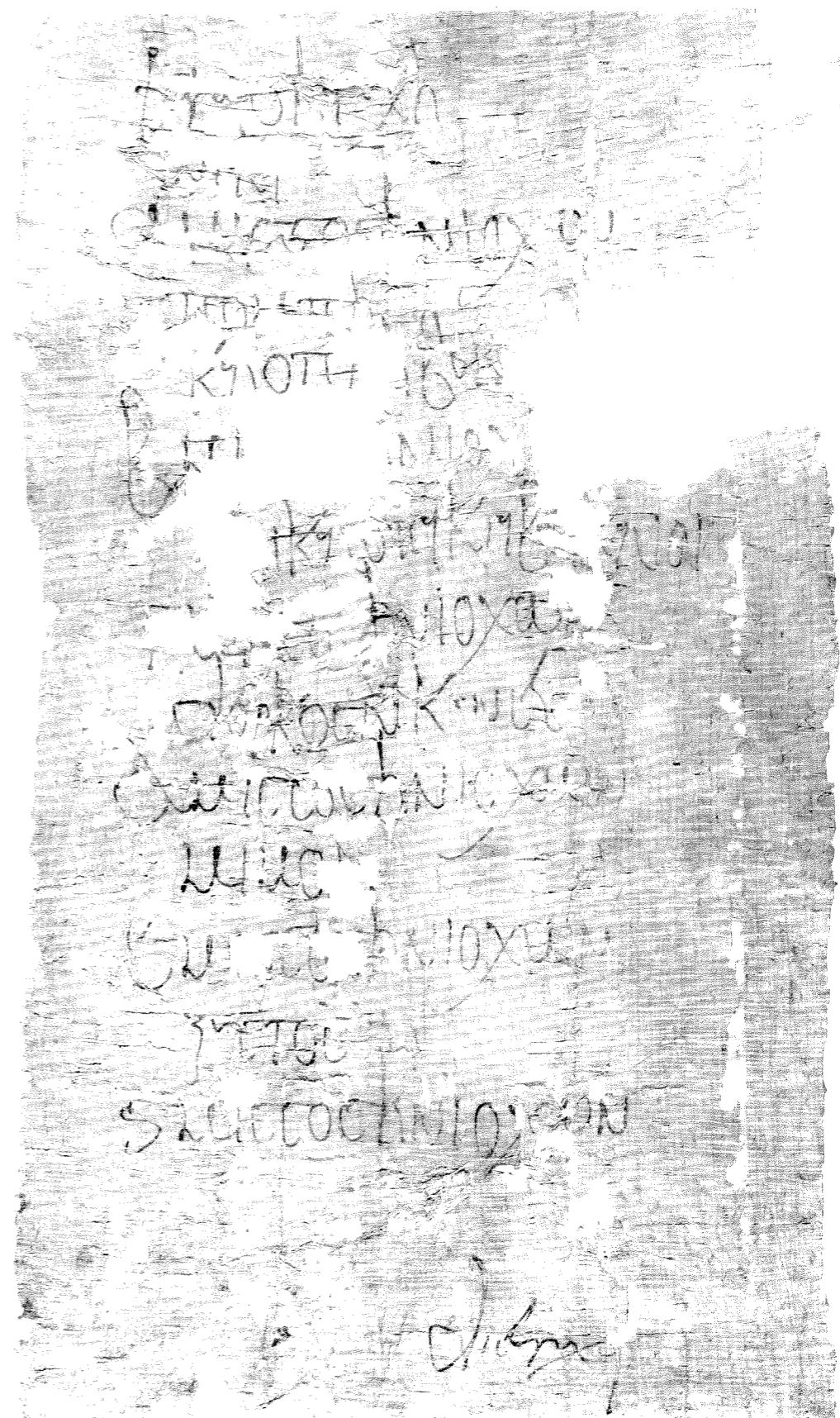
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